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IRISH EVILS.

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FRENCH THOUGHTS

ON

IRISH EVILS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE 'REVUE DES DEUX MONDES' WITH NOTES

BY

A SON OF THE SOIL.

97709

Fáġann na ba bar a'r bídeann an feur a'far.

The cows die while the grass is growing.

Tur maiṫ leaṫ na h-oibre.

A good beginning is half the work.

Irish Proverbs.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1868.

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A SPECTATOR is commonly said to divine the game better than the players, and the same rule is perhaps applicable in politics. The foreign essayist seems to have studied the Irish question with a care and impartiality which may claim attention in the game about to be played in Parliament and before the public. This reflection led to the translation.

To the oft-told tale of Irish difficulties the translator cannot venture to hope he has added any fresh ideas in the notes appended to the essay, though he thinks he may have put before the reader, especially an English reader, some facts often overlooked.

FRENCH THOUGHTS

ON

IRISH EVILS.

THE YEAR 1863 has bestowed on Ireland a good harvest —wheat, oats, hay, potatoes; nothing is wanting. When the soil feeds its inhabitants, Ireland has little more to suffer than the ordinary ills of mankind. In countries where wealth has been accumulated from a distant time, national capital supplies in part the deficiency of a harvest: it acts like a well-filled granary, and, thanks to this, an alimentary crisis is transformed into a financial or monetary crisis. In Ireland, where there is no reserve of food or of capital, a deficiency in the harvest produces its direct effect—famine. We ought to welcome the present good harvest, yet not allow it to delude us; the causes which have made in Ireland distress habitual, and famine periodical, have not disappeared. We have had merely a moment's respite, of which we ought to profit to study the causes of a misery which resists civilisation, and almost makes us doubt its efficacy.

Ireland is free (an opportunity for saying so was afforded us in a previous 'Revue'), as free as England.[1] She enjoys civil liberty, political liberty, commercial liberty,

[1] NOTE A, page 33.

religious liberty. Between the Irishman and the Englishman, between the Catholic and the Protestant, there is complete equality in the eye of the law. Though five functions are interdicted to Catholics[1]—that of Regent of the United Kingdom, of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, of Chancellor of England, of Chancellor of Ireland, of President of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland—these are exceptions which, save one, are justified by the nature of the duties, exceptions which, as is commonly said, justified the rule—wherever the action of the State extends, practical equality makes progress. Successor to several Lord-Lieutenants who have governed Ireland in a spirit of justice and atonement, Ireland possesses now a Viceroy who of all English statesmen is the one most devoted to Ireland, and of whom it may be said, as of the Fitzgeralds, 'that he is more Irish than the Irish.'

It is necessary to repeat that in fiscal matters Ireland is treated equitably, and is even favoured. Excepting the income tax, and perhaps patents, all the taxes levied by the State are taxes on consumption, customs, excise, stamps, and postage. The Irishman thus pays much less per head than the Englishman.[2] All the money, and even more, levied in Ireland is expended there. If England ruins Ireland, it certainly is without profit to its own finances. Still property is heavily taxed for the relief of poverty; the poor-tax is, of all taxes, whether on landed property or whether local, the most considerable.[3] Since the establishment of this tax in 1846 up to 1861, thirteen millions eight hundred thousand pounds sterling have been expended. As this tax is local, and increases as distress increases, in some places and in some years it has exceeded the amount of the income of the landed property. Besides this, dispensaries have been established, where advice

[1] Note B, page 34. [2] Note C, page 34.
[3] Note D, page 35.

and medicine are given gratuitously, and of which the annual cost, exclusive of the public expenditure for county hospitals, amounts to more than one hundred thousand pounds sterling. Finally, primary education is gratuitous, and the sum expended by the State on National Schools amounted in 1861 to three hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

At the time of the great famine, the Government of the United Kingdom gave or lent to the counties of Ireland money sufficient to maintain three millions of persons for more than a year. Since then large sums are annually voted as loans for agriculture, and for the encouragement of agricultural improvements. Other sums are also allotted in favour of fisheries, and in aid of seamen for procuring the implements necessary for fishing.

Occasionally England has succeeded in subduing her religious and social prejudices: the parochial tax for the maintenance of edifices devoted to the Anglican worship has been suppressed; a portion of the property of the Established Church has been secularised and employed for the general benefit; the ecclesiastical tenth has been converted into a rent which has notably diminished the amount, and which is paid by the proprietor instead of by the farmer.[1] A radical measure has been adopted with regard to landed property: a Court called the 'Encumbered Estates' Court' has been established to sell properties by dividing them when overburdened with mortgages. This Court, and another with larger and wider powers, under the name of the 'Landed Estates Court,' which has been substituted for it, have sold and divided within twelve years in the interest of the creditors a mass of landed property to the value of thirty-one millions one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling. The conversion of large into middling-sized properties, of burdened into

[1] Note E, page 37.

solvent property, is carried on without relaxation by means of these new courts of justice. Simultaneously with the division of property, the cultivation of the land tends to agglomeration. Out of three hundred thousand holdings under five acres, two hundred thousand have been formed into more considerable farms. The odious law which rendered sub-tenants responsible for the acts of a head tenant has been long since revoked, and an attempt has just been made, although without any practical success, to give a solution of the question relative to the rights of a tenant who has increased the value of his land.[1]

Nevertheless Europe is unwilling to believe that since the end of the last century England has entered into a career of atonement. Europe avers 'that this freedom is a vain shadow, a falsehood, hypocrisy, something resembling the white's idea of equality in a slave-holding country. If Ireland were not oppressed and despoiled, she would not be discontented and miserable.' The most simple reflection nevertheless shows that the union of oppressed Ireland with free England under the same Parliament must have led in the course of time to liberty for Ireland. The political equality of citizens must, in its turn, have led to the equality of men professing different religions—to the emancipation of the Catholics; and this emancipation must have had as a result the establishment of a poor tax, which has at least, though the practical utility of this tax may be disputable, the merit of being a tribute paid by wealth to poverty, and an acknowledgment of the duties of society to the more unfortunate portion of its members. The enemies of English freedom must allow me to say that they have not formed a proper conception of the evils of oppression and intolerance. Tyranny produces effects after tyranny has ceased to exist, just as the debts of a prodigal Government aggrieve

[1] Note F, page 38.

future generations. There is something still more shocking than an Ireland oppressed and despoiled to which justice should be rendered; it is an Ireland free yet discontented and irritated, an Ireland lightly taxed yet a prey to distress and famine. Listen to what men say; read what they write; look at what is going on this very year, one of the calmest, one of the most happy that Ireland has known.

In the month of August, 1863, a meeting was held in the county Tipperary, on the hill of Dunamon, in the open air amidst pelting rain, at which were present eight hundred farmers and peasants. The president commenced by recommending the people not to trust to orators or to the British Parliament for the redress of their grievances. 'Irishmen who seek to serve their country ought to court the Goddess of Liberty in the only manner by which they can deserve her favours. Let us take example from the Poles! That, I admit, may be dangerous; but the object cannot be attained without danger, without sacrifices, without suffering. Before long the brave Fenians will assemble in all their strength.' A resolution was proposed immediately, and was supported by language which must be quoted verbatim:—

'What we desire is a national government, and this England refuses to us. Lord Palmerston has declared in Parliament that he would not interfere in the internal affairs of the Irish, and that he would leave them to fight their battles themselves between landlords and tenants. England does not care for Ireland, and English Ministers do not trouble themselves to enquire if twenty landlords are killed daily, or if fifty peasants are hanged for each murdered landlord (a voice, "They wish more peasants to be hanged!" another voice, "They do!" applause; cries of "Down with the landlords!"). The English Government maintains the police to massacre the remnant of the

Irish population (cries of fury). It is for that purpose the police have swords and muskets, not to arrest assassins and murderers. The Irish aristocracy is a pack of hounds eager for blood; it has no idea of liberty or of country; under the form of men, it is the lowest class of beings in creation. No Christian nation has been subjected to the humiliation, tyranny, and persecution suffered by the unhappy Irish' (thunders of applause).

'We do not want aristocrats (said a second orator, supporting the motion of the previous speaker); we want hands hardened by work, and strong and bold hearts; men able to hold a pike. Irishmen ought to remember that no nation has conquered independence without shedding more or less of its blood (applause). If after years of petitions to the English Parliament, if after years of sending representatives—non-representatives!—to the Parliament our cause is not won, how is it to be won? (a voice, "By the pike"). We are without arms, but scythes will answer, if they provoke us too much. Let patriots rally round the green flag until it is planted for ever above the red flag on the highest parapet of Dublin.'

A motion was adopted to the effect that there were no longer grounds to hope for the redress of their grievances by legal means. During the discussion the green flag, with the harp and without the crown, floated on a height called Meagher's Rock.

I need not remind the reader that pikes, scythes, dogs, and blood are merely rhetorical figures. No one at Dunamon thought of an insurrection. This meeting, like a similar meeting held eight days ago (October 1863), produced no effect in Ireland, and the English journals have alluded to it only as a characteristic trait. The only serious point is, that the language of hate is the habitual language of the party which forms the largest portion of

the population; and it is also, making allowances for the differences arising from education and position, that of some men of consideration. In a recent document regarding the National Schools, Dr. Cullen, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, in speaking of Lord Palmerston and of Sir Robert Peel, expresses himself in the following words:—'These gentlemen cannot spare a shilling to succour the starving poor man,[1] but they are lavish in support of the vilest system which has ever been imagined by human perversity, and of the greatest deceit which has ever been practised in this country.'

Some details are required here, for this document throws great light on the difficulties of the Government in Ireland. Of all the institutions which have been attempted in favour of Ireland, only a single one, with the exception of the Encumbered Estates Court, has hitherto succeeded; this is the institution of National Schools, which collect on the same benches children of every belief to give them instruction in common. The greatest care has been taken that each pupil should receive (religious) instruction from his pastor, and that all attempts at proselytism should be averted. The Government has transferred its powers into the hands of a committee, composed of an equal number of Catholics and Protestants; and by a happy chance, at the time of the foundation of the institution there were at the same moment in Dublin an Anglican bishop and a Catholic bishop, equally enlightened and equally tolerant, who chose or composed the books used in the National Schools. As was natural, the institution has been attacked by both sides, first by the Protestant clergy, afterwards by the Catholic clergy; but the Irish people, greedy of instruction, has stood fast, and at this day 800,000 children, of whom more than 600,000 are Catholics, frequent the National Schools. These schools are at once the honour

[1] Note G, page 42.

and the hope of the country, and are the single point on which Ireland is superior to England. A Catholic Irishman, a member of Parliament, and member of the committee for National Schools, having been nominated Attorney-General for Ireland, was obliged to undergo re-election, and passed an eulogium on the National Schools to his electors. It was on this occasion that Dr. Cullen published in reply a manifesto of a party, which, if it is not the most numerous, is the most active among the Irish Catholic clergy.

It is difficult to analyse a pamphlet every word of which makes allusion to local disputes, and contains an attack on individuals; but the foundation of Dr. Cullen's argument is this:—that there is no equality in the committee of National Schools, because the number of Protestant members is equal to the Catholic members, although the Catholic population is more numerous than the Protestant population; that, moreover, it is of little importance whether the Catholics be equal or superior in number, if they be laymen—laymen, and even priests who have not received a special mission from their bishops, not being fitted to interfere with public instruction; that this right belongs exclusively to the bishops, as successors to the Apostles, to whom Christ said, 'Go and teach.' The Archbishop of Dublin does not stop there; he makes war in the name of the clergy against the Catholic laity who do not sufficiently remind the people of their nationality, their grievances, and their sufferings; he points out by name to the distrust of the people Catholics who have accepted public functions, and who vote in Parliament without the concurrence of their own bishops.

I need not discuss the politics of Dr. Cullen, whose manifesto I have quoted only as one of the indications of the state of men's minds. I shall only say that writings of this description enable us to comprehend the recent

coldness of many Protestant Liberals, the anxiety to make a stand of the greater part of eminent Catholics, the aversion to public life among the larger share of moderate men, the diminution of the Whigs in the electoral registration of Ireland, and the nomination of a Tory majority, finally, the conduct of the emigrants, who, by severing the bonds which united them to their native country, sever those which attached them to the clergy.

There is a new character in the emigration of this year, which is an indication of the social state of Ireland. If the emigration was first caused by distress, and was then encouraged by the Government and by the landowners, it was subsequently spontaneously developed, and has been perpetuated by the aid of funds sent by the first emigrants. During the year of the famine, the Irishmen of the United States sent to the Irishmen of Ireland more than a million sterling. Thus, during the last ten years, the number of emigrants has exceeded the cipher of 1,200,000. There was reason to believe that the good harvest of Ireland and the troubles of the United States would this year arrest somewhat the current of emigration. This hope will not be realised; the idea of emigration has taken hold of men's minds. The opportunity afforded by a good harvest has been seized, in the fear that later the means of paying the expenses of the passage may be wanting. The prospect of the war excites instead of alarming; people say to themselves, that when the civil war is over, the United States will make war on England;[1] and they hug themselves at the thought of fighting the national enemy on American soil. It is this, we may mention in passing, which, on the other hand, has made the French expedition to Mexico popular in Great Britain; it is welcomed as a means of turning the wrath of the United States towards the South, and of saving Canada

[1] Note H, page 49.

without the expenditure of men or money. The emigration is consequently about to take a new flight. They who declared that it was impossible to transport an entire population from one side of the Atlantic to the other were deceived. Unfortunately, they were not deceived on that which concerns the efficacy of this cruel remedy. It is in general men in the vigour of age who emigrate: the quantity and the quality of labour diminish, therefore, much more than the number of mouths to be fed. Ireland, no doubt, suffers from a proprietorship which, in some sort, is only a life interest, and from holdings which, in general, are only annual; how much more injurious to production must be the despair or the attraction which drives a people to abandon the soil it cultivates, and which makes it regard its toil only as the means of gaining the four or six pounds necessary for paying the passage! Even if emigration possessed the economical advantages of which it is destitute, it would be fatal, in a material point of view, from its moral effects. Progress is not possible among a people who live uprooted on the land where they are born, but where they do not wish to die.

What, then, are the causes of this misery, or, to speak more correctly, of these famines, sometimes local, sometimes general, which constantly threaten a portion of the Irish population? Assuredly the history of Ireland is lamentable; it is a conquest never finished, and recommenced without cessation; religious wars succeeded by those of race; then the oppression of the many by the few, of the Catholic by the Protestant, of the poor by the rich. We know what hatred is. Seventy years of civil liberty, sixty years of political liberty, thirty years o religious emancipation, have been unable to efface th recollections left by every kind of oppression. The financial state, the social state, the religious state of Ireland

are such as tyranny has made them. Liberty has not yet had time to create either the capital, or the conditions, or the customs inherent to liberty, which, in proportion as it has been developed, causes the injuries of the past and the sufferings of the present to be felt with more keenness; but that which is indeed difficult to conceive, is, why matters should be so embittered in Ireland, while elsewhere men's recollections should be so feeble. It ought apparently to be indifferent to public economy whether a field belongs to the son of a soldier of Cromwell or to the descendant of the chief of a clan—whether it be cultivated by this man or that man, or that one inequality should take the place of another inequality. How happens it that a state of society which has not impeded the development of wealth in England, has produced in Ireland distress and famine? England is astonished at this; for in her eyes good or evil is that which is or which is not as in England. After having given to Ireland the benefit of English legislation, she is at a loss what to do, and is indignant at the obstinacy of Irishmen in dying of hunger. In Ireland itself men are divided on all questions, from the potato and cultivation by hand to nationality and religion. Each man lays the charge on race, on class, on religion; no unanimous voice is heard to aid and direct a legislator. Nothing is acknowledged excepting the evil, and the inefficiency of every remedy.

According to M. Gustave de Beaumont, the evils of Ireland are to be attributed to a wicked aristocracy, and to a bad arrangement of the land. The original evil has been aggravated by circumstances peculiar to Ireland, which have produced the ruin of the rich and the misery of the poor, the harshness of the one and the crimes of the other. In support of M. de Beaumont's opinion must be quoted that of M. de Cavour, whose essay on Ireland is not sufficiently known, and which

would, if they would read it, much astonish both the numerous admirers and the still more numerous enemies in Ireland of the Italian Minister. 'M. de Beaumont,' he says, 'has shown in his remarkable work on Ireland, that almost all the sufferings of that country are to be attributed to a vicious aristocracy. It is evident that in a country where landed property is the basis of all power, nothing can be more fatal than to behold on one hand the proprietory class, and on the other the mass of the people belonging to different races and to opposing religions. It cannot be too often repeated that this is the fatal origin of the numberless evils which vitiate all the political and social institutions of Ireland.'

We may add to the authority of these two witnesses the evidence of an Irishman, better enabled from his position than anyone else to obtain knowledge and to appreciate it. In his book on the condition of Ireland, Mr. Jonathan Pim, secretary to the Society of Friends for the distribution of succour during the great famine in Ireland, assigns for the distress of his country causes which may be thus summed up: a legislation which makes it easy to encumber landed property, and impossible to sell it; the partition of property among proprietors under different titles, and holdings with successive sublettings; proprietors of every degree having only a life interest, and cultivators having only an annual interest; finally, an aristocratic state of society with an absent aristocracy; and democratic political laws without a middle class to carry them into operation.

It is impossible not to partake of the opinion, now universally adopted, of the authorities just quoted. England has sanctioned it by creating the Court of Encumbered Estates, and Ireland by accepting of that institution as a benefit. Independent of all theory, a proprietorship which, one year with another, caused landed income to

the amount of thirty to forty millions (of francs, no doubt) to be managed by the Irish Chancery on account of the insolvency of the incommutable owners could not be permitted to continue. The ex-landowners themselves have felt the necessity of the blow which has smitten them. Is it just, however, to cast the entire evil on the wrong distribution of property, and to the absence of proprietors? Is it certain, if these vices of property were destroyed, that misery would be driven from Ireland? I do not think so. The condition of property is one of the causes of the evils of Ireland, and the condition of farming is another. There are general misfortunes which here overrule the particular vices which bind misery to Ireland, which taint all ameliorations—which, the moment Ireland raises her head, cause her to fall into the hollow of the waves. Here is the proof. The obstacles which burdened Irish manufactures have been destroyed,[1] the custom-house laws which prohibited the importation of Irish products into England have been annulled, and the Union could not have been unfavourable to the influx of capital. In manufactures there are no recollections of confiscations, nor feudal laws, nor absent proprietors, nor intermediate tenants. Well, excepting the manufacture of linen, which, in proportion as it extends, confines itself more and more to a particular district, every sort of Irish industry has fallen into decay since the beginning of the century. The lot of the fisheries is similar; in 1845 there were 93,000 Irish fishermen, in 1861 there were but 50,000; and it is by English seamen that the herring fishery of the coasts of Ireland is carried on. Its territorial condition has been, to a certain degree, modified. The Encumbered Estates Court has, as we say in our colonies, whitewashed a quarter of the proprietorship. A middle class of land proprietors is beginning to be formed who

[1] See Lord Dufferin's Letters in the *Times*.

are nearly all Irish in origin, and often Catholic in religion. The greater part of the advice given by M. de Cavour has been followed. The State grants loans to agriculture; roads of communication are everywhere opened—the Irish roads are equal to those of England; the land is furrowed with railways; the trans-Atlantic packets stop at Cork and Derry, and start from Galway for the United States. Ireland is covered with banks and loan societies. Nevertheless, distress is always there. If the excellent suggestions of Mr. Pim, which have for their object the transfer or mobilisation of property, the freedom and the permanency of land contracts, were adopted, one of the causes of misery would cease to exist, though distress would always exist. Let us state the two fundamental causes of the evils of modern Ireland, and let us begin with that evil which no one can prevent, neither statesmanship, nor landowners, nor farmers, for it is less painful to suffer from the tyranny of fate than from the tyranny of one's equal.

In one hundred and forty-six years the population of Ireland has doubled, it has quadrupled, it has even become eight times more considerable. In 1695 it amounted to 1,034,000 inhabitants; in 1788 to 4,040,000; it attained in 1841, before the famine, the number of 8,175,000. We all know that the same land fructified by agricultural labour can support a greater number of inhabitants, and that mechanical labour is able by its productions to give new means of subsistence to the people. Such has not been the course of events in Ireland; it is unanimously acknowledged that the fertility of the soil has not increased, and that manufactures have declined. Thus eight persons have been obliged to live on resources sufficient only for one person. Let us admit, if desirable, the inaccuracy of ancient statistics; let us acknowledge that, owing to civil wars, the population of Ireland had diminished by 300,000 persons; let us grant

that the quantity of land now under cultivation is a fifth or a fourth more extensive than at that time; let us reduce the number by half. There will still result that four persons instead of one will draw their sustenance from the same land possessing the same fertility. In no country in Europe has there been an example either of so great an increase in population, or of so small an augmentation of productive powers. If the fruitfulness of the land has not been developed, the introduction of a new article of food singularly fruitful in this soil and climate has enabled a fourfold population to subsist. Thus a considerable portion of the population lives without any pecuniary transactions with the other classes; this portion neither buys commodities nor receives payment, and knows as little of money as it does of bread. The potato is everything for this class. It forms their sustenance, and is their medium of exchange. A certain number of days' work pays the hire of the spot of land where the roots grow. On comparing the number of the population which lives exclusively on the potato with the number of acres on which it is cultivated, we reach this frightful result, that three or four persons have been forced to live on the product of one acre of land. Naturally the loss of the potato in 1846 produced a complete famine among the population who lived exclusively by it, and the partial failure of the harvest, so common now-a-days, produces half-famines among the same people; that is to say, famines which last some months, instead of lasting a year. Wise men say, 'Do not cultivate potatoes any longer;' and they are right; nevertheless these unhappy people are still more right in their obstinacy in its cultivation. With potatoes, if the harvest is good, they can live on the patch of land which alone is within their reach; while with wheat or oats, even in the event of a good harvest, they cannot obtain subsistence for three months. The Irishman therefore

prefers to cultivate the potato; and when it fails, nothing can give an idea of the horrible distress into which he falls. It is not an alimentary crisis which strikes all the world, though falling more heavily on the poor; it is more —it is the destruction of an entire class—that which cultivates the potato, feeds on it, and trades on it. The means of subsistence are taken from that class, and it is without employment, it is destitute; like a man shipwrecked on a naked rock. I must, however, seek farther, and discover what has become of labour and capital.

The Irish people are accused of abandoning themselves to sloth, to improvidence, to drunkenness;[1] they care neither how they are lodged nor how they are clothed. I can well believe it; for they are miserable, and these are the vices of misery. What is wonderful is this—that under these overwhelming evils they should have preserved beauty, intelligence, vivacity of mind, a thirst to learn, and a poetic turn of language. People say to them, 'Make an effort, work.' But there is no work in Ireland; there was not work enough for the number of arms before the famine, and there is still less since the potato disease has, in a single year, caused a loss in national capital in food to the estimated amount of sixteen millions sterling. The only notable changes in this respect are the emigration and the poor law; but emigration carries off strong arms, and the poor-house prevents the workman from dying of hunger without increasing the supply of work. We might multiply quotations; numerous official documents agree in demonstrating that for a long time a considerable share of the agricultural population remains unemployed, even during the harvest time of wheat and oats. In 1846 the Inspectors of the Poor Laws reported that in the Union of Milford, county Donegal, out of a rural population of 38,108 persons, there were only 779

[1] Note I, page 51.

men and 287 women employed during the week finishing on the 11th of September, that is to say, during the height of the Irish harvest. The number of persons who could reckon on constant employment was 341 men, and 152 women. In one of the districts of this Union there were only four men employed out of 2,000 inhabitants. In the greater part of the western counties the condition is nearly the same for that portion of the population which lives on the con-acre system, that is to say, on the cultivation of a patch of land planted with potatoes, the rent of which is paid sometimes in money, oftener in days' work. This state of things has been since ameliorated; and it is now (every allowance being made for differences) less grievous than before the famine of 1846; for it is a special portion of the population disseminated almost everywhere, rather than the Irish population in general which thus suffers. The large and middling farms prosper everywhere, the small farms in Ulster; and the pay of the workmen employed under Government in Ireland is equal to what it is in England. It is not the less true that a portion of the rural population of Ireland is constantly in a condition similar to that into which the scarcity of cotton threw the manufacturing population of Lancashire. There are intervals of no work, and of work for the day for reduced hours and at reduced wages. During the five months of winter the agricultural population does not labour, and in summer it does not work every day. The working-day commences at seven in the morning, and lasts ten hours. This very short period is sluggishly employed, and is feebly rewarded. The workman works as he is paid, the master in return pays like the work, in such sort that with insufficient wages the price of handicraft work is in reality as dear in Ireland as in prosperous countries. All this becomes an obstacle to the increase of labour, and to the development of agricultural improvements. It is grievous

to think, and painful to say, that in considering the production of labour we find the same state of things which struck us in examining the produce of the soil. If a part of the rural population of Ireland produces four times less labour than the agricultural population of England or of France, it is almost impossible that it should not be four times worse lodged, four times worse clothed, and four times more coarsely nourished. Unhappily, if there is no work in Ireland, there is still less capital. Its economic and social condition prevents capital from being formed on the spot, and its political condition prevents it from coming there. Each succeeding year Ireland becomes more empty; each year she is despoiled of her capital, like a field of its produce after the harvest. It is impossible that the con-acre population, or the farmers of one or two acres, whose condition is analogous, should be able to put by any savings. In good years they live on the potatoes which they have gathered, and which they consume. In average and middling years they fill the void by means of Indian corn brought from the United States, and then fill the poor-houses. They thus diminish the national capital, and become a charge on property. The unproductive and, in spite of its misery, costly state of the population which lives by the labour of its hands, of that population which among us increases without ceasing the national capital, and augments without ceasing the value of property, is certainly one of the gravest economic embarrassments of Ireland.

There is less difference in the condition of the farmers compared with similar conditions in other countries; but manners and customs interfere to aggravate the difficulty. It is well known that the increase of population having rendered work uncertain, and wages precarious, there has been a hot competition for renting land. The price of land is therefore, one may say, high,—excessive for bad land divided into small lots, reasonable for good land and

large farms; but people do not merely hire the land, the lease is sold at the same time. The farmer entering on possession must buy the good-will of the proprietor, or the good-will of the retiring farmer, often that of both, by the immediate payment of a sum which sometimes amounts to five or six years' rent or more. A witness worthy of trust, himself a cultivator, writing from Ireland to a Scotch journal to show that the misery of Ireland was caused by the diminution of fertility, owing to an exhaustive system of cultivation, relates the following significant fact, which is almost general. Two farms in his neighbourhood had been rented at their value, with rather short leases, and for each farm the good-will had been bought at the rate of 13*l.* sterling per acre, or ten times the value of the old rent.[1] What becomes, with such a system, of the capital for cultivation? It goes to the proprietor, or it passes from farmer to farmer without ever fertilising the soil. Nothing is bestowed on the land, all is taken from it. The farmer has plunged into debt to obtain possession; he must free himself as soon as possible, and hasten to practise the two axioms of Irish agriculture, 'No fallow land, and no manure.'

The practice of exacting payment for the grant of a farm independently of the annual rent has not only had the direct consequence of rendering bad cultivation inevitable in lands which are leased, but it has the indirect result of keeping a large portion of land without leases, and with mere annual lettings; and this has become still more fatal to agriculture. It has become the cause of disturbances, of violence, and of crimes. The farmer who has paid the price for entering into possession wants to keep the farm when he does not pay the rent. The peasant who cultivates without a lease will not consent that the patch of land on which he lives should be, as they

[1] Note K, page 53.

say in Ireland, *consolidated*, that is, joined to a larger farm. Perhaps, on strict examination, here might be found the secret of that ill-defined question, which so strongly agitates men's minds, *tenant right*, the right to sell the lease of a farm, as in Ulster. At the time of the confiscation of the land in this northern province, called the time of the Plantation, there was, it would seem, a sort of compromise between the new occupants and the dispossessed population, from whence arose the custom that the farmer should present his successor to the proprietor. When they discuss in Parliament the rights of a farmer on a supposed increased value given to the land, it is in reality a discussion on the means of giving to the cultivator the power of preserving the right to sell his lease in the event of non-payment of rent, and the right of nominating his successor; or, in other words, of assigning to him that portion of the value of the farm which is paid on entering into possession. This land question resembles a good deal, as we see, the question of the investiture of benefices, which for three centuries disturbed Europe. It is a portion in the right of proprietorship, hidden under the right of simple presentation to the enjoyment of the lease.

It is also necessary to state that the pressure of the penal laws having for a long time retained the mass of the population in poverty, and the weight of this mass having prevented the remainder from elevating themselves, intermediate classes are rare, and are only now in progress of formation. It thence results that this land of rich and poor has wholly adopted the manners of extreme wealth and extreme poverty, which are both tolerably alike in all that concerns provident foresight. The official statistics of the kingdom of Ireland afford a proof of this when they state with quaint pride that 'Every person who has under him sub-tenants assumes the position and condition of a

gentleman.' Therefore, there does not exist in Ireland any class of respectable yeomen, that is to say, any class of rich labourers who themselves cultivate their land. In trade, as in agriculture, people live like gentlemen, which in honest French means, that people spend more than they have, and that men of the long robe alone become rich.

If the classes which elsewhere are producers should here be consumers, can we expect that the class which everywhere consumes and does not produce should be able to fill the void in the national capital? This would be entertaining an exaggerated idea of the virtues of the aristocracy in general, and a very false idea of the special condition of the Irish aristocracy. There are two classes of Irish proprietors, the absent and the resident.[1] The absent are either great English lords, whose ancestors at different epochs of the civil wars have received large donations of lands, or else proprietors who, without distinction of race or reference to the source of their property, prefer to live in England rather than in Ireland. The financial calculation for both one and the other is easily made; they take each year from Ireland a part of what Ireland produces each year. This is not an exportation balanced by importation; the capital drawn from Ireland in the shape of corn and cattle does not return there, and the loss for Ireland is complete. Always taking and never restoring, always receiving and never expending, is downright devastation. On whatever system the division of property is based, the income of property ought to be either expended or saved; it ought to be transformed into wages for labour, into the purchase of commodities, into the increase of capital. If it is carried off in a lump and transported to another country, general impoverishment becomes inevitable; and one of the Viceroys of Ireland, Lord Normanby,

[1] Note L, page 58.

said well when he declared to a deputation of landowners, 'Property has its duties as well as its rights; let it perform its duties that its rights may be respected.'

The same moral responsibility does not weigh upon the resident proprietors: though they may not always fulfil their duties, they are in the greater number of cases the victims of fate, and are as much to be pitied as to be blamed. The aristocratic system gives to landed property a political and moral value independent of the value of the income; this system has for its foundation the law of entail, which leaves to the possessor only a life interest, sometimes opposed to his other interests. It is supported by a civil law which makes a mortgage real, and converts it into a debt on the land alone. From these three causes combined, there must necessarily result a manorial property overloaded with mortgages. Now that, by the inversion of ordinary economic conditions, the income from land among the same people is higher in one place than the income from money in another place; that land should produce six per cent., as in Ireland, and money four per cent. in London, the debt on the land would exceed the value of the capital of the land. This position being granted, if the income of land diminishes all at once, if, owing to the increase of the population, it is suddenly destroyed by distress and by famine, the ruin of a portion of the landed interest will be inevitable. This is the case in Ireland, with this aggravating circumstance, that the greater part of the borrowed capital is English capital, and that the interest of these debts must be paid in London. On the part of the resident landlords there is therefore an involuntary and partial withdrawal of the annual products of Ireland, as there is on the part of the absentee proprietors a total and voluntary withdrawal; there is an absenteeism of capital as well as of person. Add to this, that among a portion of the resident pro-

prietors the proprietorship is not complete. On receiving donations of confiscated lands, the old recipients were often embarrassed how to obtain value for them. They made them over to others in perpetuity in return for a low rent, reserving to themselves what is called the right of head landlords. A fresh portion of annual income thus quits Ireland, never to return. How is such dilapidation to be resisted? Land, labour, capital, are all at fault. Of these evils, which may be thus summed up and defined, the increase of population without increase of fertility, of labour or of capital, the greatest is the disappearance of capital.

You do not understand the distress of Ireland, yet you accuse a class, a race, a religion; but do you know what the continued and progressive loss of capital is? It is a series of sufferings which leads to decay. The greatest disaster of mankind, the destruction of Roman civilisation, and the invasion of the barbarians, had no other cause. If the Ireland of the nineteenth century is exposed to the famines of the middle ages, it is because Ireland, like the middle ages, has no accumulated wealth. But three hours distant from Ireland, in the sister island, as it is called, there exists the most marvellous accumulation of capital that the world has ever known. Let England's capital, which spreads itself over all points of the globe, consent to fructify Ireland, at that very instant landed property would cast off its load of debts, labour would fertilise the soil, and production would revive. In regard to finance,—and on this point alone Ireland is several centuries behind nations which she equals in enlightenment,—at a single bound she would conquer the advantages of that civilisation for which of old she was the depository of arts and sciences.

While we consider the influence of the increase of population, we understand how old social evils, in proportion

as they diminish, become more difficult to bear. Distress places them in relief, and they are judged by the sinister light of famine. Let us not assert that justice and civilisation have accomplished nothing. Every time one revisits Ireland one feels an improvement; we recognise progress, we are certain that the worst days are over. If general facts do not verify this statement, it is because, like statistical averages, these do not take into account particular cases, which by their multiplication produce new general facts. There is a portion of evil and of good; the good is that which will remain. Ireland evidently entered into a new phase the day that she raised herself from a rule of oppression to one of liberty, and it is now less necessary to seek the causes of her former misery, than to point out those which still prevent that country from finding its proper level. Here, too, we find a general evil which dominates particular vices.

Whence arises it that in Ireland, right, justice, liberty, seem powerless? Things are not there followed by their natural results; generosity fails in alleviating misery, labour does not increase produce, emigration does not make room for those who remain behind, improvements are sterile, and laws are scarcely promulgated ere they fall into decay. It would surely be advisable to modify the civil law more than has been hitherto done, and still better to suppress the obstacles needlessly imposed by legislation and by jurisprudence; nevertheless, it is fair to acknowledge the result would be scarcely discernible. Society is not settled; no society does exist according to the moral sense of the word. Everything, nationality, property, religion, is uncertain, debated, and discordant. Every man has two countries, England or the United States, besides Ireland. It is not even known if the land is able to feed its inhabitants. Various populations have inhabited Ireland. Conquest, civil war, and intolerance have created new

divisions of races, of classes, and religions; but never has the oppressed yielded his conscience to the oppressor. Every act has been the act of violence, and a moral rebellion has been the answer to each. When oppression disappeared, it was found that tyranny had constructed nothing, and in proportion as the national conflict became less lively, the contest took the character of a war between the religion of the rich and the religion of the poor.

Our readers will have perceived that the financial difficulty of Ireland arises less from the wrong distribution of wealth, than from the general insufficiency of produce. As for social difficulties, they are caused more by the agitation produced by disagreement in ideas, in sentiments, in religious belief, than by this or that item of legislation. When one has lived in a society which has long subsisted, formed under the impulse of a national movement, one finds it difficult to account for the powerlessness and the agitation by which society is harassed where there is no community of ideas. In Ireland the inhabitants tread the same soil, breathe the same air, still one man is not the less an usurper, doomed to hell in his neighbours' eyes, than are the latter rebels and idolaters to the mind of the former.[1] The rich absent themselves, the poor emigrate, and those who remain face each other like enemies instead of living like neighbours. The feeling which causes to be paid in a lump a share of the annual amount of the rent, which extracts from the land all that can be drawn without a thought of to-morrow, the practice of chasing the hen with the golden eggs to strangle her, the violent and changeable course of events, the multiplicity of enterprises unfinished, the ardour of polemics, indolence in action, crime, and the popularity of criminals,[2]—all these faults, individual or collective, proceed from social inability; I know very well that there is a portion of fiction as well as

[1] Note M, page 60. [2] Note N, page 61.

of truth in all that can be said of Ireland, for in Ireland there is somewhat of everything. The relations between the proprietor and the cultivator are improving; modern civilisation is visible everywhere, although nowhere has it penetrated men's hearts; railway lines traverse the wild moors; steam whistles amidst the bogs, and bad agriculture employs the best implements. Liberty has entered men's hearts, and power is stable; but social disunion prevents progress from taking root, and since the cause of the evil is moral, nothing has been done when all has not been done.

Unfortunately, the two causes of distress in Ireland, the disturbance of society, and the disappearance of capital, are of all evils those most opposed to the action of Government. It seems as if they could not be subdued, excepting by the aid of time, or by one of those events which in one day perform the work of ages. But this is a vicious circle which one does not know how to break. To say the truth, if this mystery seems impenetrable, it is because no one wishes to clear it up. Some wish to maintain their supremacy, others their grievances. So truly as a social grievance keeps Ireland poor, so truly would a single act of justice, a single one after so many others, confer stability, create labour, and save multitudes. It would suffice that religious intolerance should be less pitiless than the hatred of races and classes has been.

I put aside all secondary questions, all those whose solution is impossible, or which will cause only a distant and doubtful change. I come to the capital point, the condition of the Catholic clergy in Ireland. No clergy is more justly popular than the Irish Catholic clergy. It has fought for the faith, for liberty, and for the poor. This clergy has been the moral life of a people, which without it would have fallen into the degradation of misfortune. and which has ennobled the ills of the present

life, by the hopes of a future life. If in a material state, which in its sufferings has been often compared with serfdom or slavery, the spirit has remained free, if the Irish people are morally the equal of happier people, it is due to the Catholic clergy. This clergy must attribute to itself social and political rights of a particular nature, and we need not be astonished if, despoiled and insulted, it should still carry, though ceasing to be oppressed, the spirit of social and political opposition to a point beyond what the circumstances require and beyond what the interests of the unfortunate classes demand. United to the poor by so many bonds, subsisting on the charity of the wretched, they must partake of the passions that lead to crime, however stringent may be the curb they place on crime. Their services have made them powerful, and power has made them ambitious, as the reader may perceive from the analysis of the Archbishop of Dublin's manifesto. Let us be allowed to say, that while we acknowledge a full justification of the past, and even of the present, if good order is impossible in a State within a State, as we say in France, we declare it is still more impossible in a social theocracy in a society founded on the principle of civil liberty. That which was the salvation of the people in times of oppression becomes in times of freedom a serious obstacle to the improvement of their lot. If a clergy sanctified by faith and nationality disunites first without doubt the Catholic from the Protestant; but afterwards, whatever be the belief or the nationality, the poor from the rich, the peasant from the proprietor, the ignorant from the educated man, the accused from the judge—social peace cannot be established.

At the same time it is impossible that the Irish Catholic clergy, face to face with the Government and with society, should consent to disarm; impossible that it should abdicate its political and social action if a notable reparation

is not offered to it, if complete justice is not rendered to it. Its single vice is pride; if it accepted of a salary it would fear the appearance of deserting the national cause; it will not resign the alms of the people for the pay of the Government, the succour of the poor for the protection of the rich. Nothing would be accepted by it excepting the division of the lands (Church) and the tithes between the Anglican Church and the Catholic Church.[1]

The measure which should establish equality between the two clergies would, in itself, be a treaty of union, political and social—a union between England and Ireland, a union between the poor and the rich.[2] By the legal recognition of the existence of the Catholic clergy, the remembrance of national defeat, and the bitterness of religious persecution, would be effaced. To give civil liberty to Ireland, political liberty and emancipation to Catholics; then to maintain a Protestant supremacy, to refuse equality to the Catholic clergy of Ireland when the rights of Presbyterianism in Scotland have been recognised, under the pretext that Ireland has been a conquest, whilst Scotland has been an annexation, is like shaking the red flag at the bull in the arena; it is urging on the people to hatred; it is perpetuating the remembrance of oppression among those to whom the arms of freedom have been given; it is maintaining the Catholic clergy in a position which is neither good for society, for government, nor for religion. Twenty years ago, when M. de Beaumont and M. de Cavour wrote on Ireland, the relative importance of the different questions could not be calculated; the grievances were too numerous, and too much mingled one with another. At this moment, after all the reforms that have been accomplished, and with such little success, after twenty years of emigration,

[1] Note O, page 62.

[2] Note P, page 63.

fifteen years of poor-law, and twelve years of the Encumbered Estates' Court, after all the railways, after all the institutions for loans, it is clearly apparent that the fundamental cause of the social uneasiness which perpetuates distress is a moral and religious cause. Let us return thanks to M. de Beaumont and M. de Cavour; they have felt and expressed with force the evils which are the result of the condition of the clergy. M. de Beaumont's work is too well known to require us to quote it; but doubtless our readers will be glad to know the opinion of M. de Cavour in favour of the Catholic clergy of Ireland. I transcribe it, without making myself responsible for the summary fashion in which he treats the Protestant clergy, who from their learning and virtues are deserving of every consideration.

M. de Cavour begins by recalling all that has been done in favour of Ireland since the emancipation of the Catholics; afterwards, under the following heads—financial, social, and religious, he examines successively in what points the union of England and Ireland had been advantageous or otherwise to the latter country, and he concludes in favour of the Union. In speaking of the religious question, he thus expresses himself:—

'If the repeal of the Union had taken place, the conduct of the Irish Parliament in regard to the Anglican Church would not have been long doubtful; they would have reformed it, or rather, they would have utterly overthrown it. O'Connell pretends that the rights of actual possessors would have been respected. I doubt it much; the Catholics, intoxicated by the success of their prolonged contests, would probably not act with much consideration or delicacy towards a clergy which they look upon as the principal cause of the sufferings and humiliations which the members of their own Church have endured for centuries. The protestations of O'Connell inspire me with

little confidence. Constant to the object which he has in view, he has no scruple in changing his mode of action; he casts aside engagements which cramp him, and he forgets to-day the promises of yesterday. For my part, I should consider the Protestant clergy very fortunate, if, after the repeal, the revolution were only legally conducted, and if the mass of the people would abstain from acting, as some years ago they acted in Spain with regard to convents. Nevertheless, the reform of the Established Church is so essential to the welfare of Ireland, that there ought not to be too much scruple with regard to the means by which it shall be accomplished; and I, in consequence, do not hesitate to declare, that if the repeal of the Union were indispensable for the attainment of this end, I should be unable to resist a desire for repeal, however injurious that measure might be in every other respect;[1] but, happily, this is not the case. The reform of the Established Church will be accomplished one way or the other. Under a national Parliament it would be sudden and complete; but it would probably be accompanied by violence, injustice, and perhaps by cruelty; while with the Union, it will take place slowly by regular and legal means. I can understand that some would prefer the former mode of action; but strong as may be our taste for revolution, we cannot conceal from ourselves how much mankind suffers from the disastrous consequences which sudden and violent measures bring in their train.'

M. de Cavour is without doubt too confident when he decides the fate of the Established Church in Ireland in the spirit which he was to bring later into his contest with the Holy See. The matter is not so easy as he seems to think, when he says farther on, 'The radical reform of the Established Church is not only compatible with the main-

[1] Note Q, page 67.

tenance of the Union, but it is a probable event if the violence of the Irish Catholics does not stop the advance of public opinion in England.' Since the time when M. de Cavour put forth these ideas, a combination of circumstances has caused ideas of tolerance to lose ground. First the famine in Ireland in 1846 turned men's thoughts from her moral grievances, and caused them to be applied exclusively to her material evils. In England the love of liberty has diminished in proportion as liberty realised its conquests, and the love of liberty is the love of justice. Political economy has taken the place of politics; men are judged through the medium of facts; and the old parties having preserved scarcely anything of themselves but their name, statesmen have governed as Irish peasants cultivate their land—without thought of the future. While Parliament passed its time in gleaning in the field reaped by Sir Robert Peel, the phantom of Puseyism aroused the fears of Protestantism, and the state of Italy its hopes. The fatal division of England into ecclesiastical provinces (that which was called 'Papal aggression') was superadded to excite national indignation. Each day Doctor Cullen multiplied difficulties; Catholics have lost their influence in Parliament, and the question on which depends the future of Ireland appears to be more than ever farther from solution.

Nevertheless, although appearances at present are unfavourable, it is not impossible that a British Parliament should reform a Protestant Church and do justice to a Catholic Church. It is not a question here of the Anglican Church in England, but of the Anglican Church in Ireland; it is not a question of a Protestant Church for Protestants, but of a Protestant Church for Catholics. In proportion as the individuals (who compose it) are respectable so is the institution monstrous. The English aristocracy, not to appear an accomplice in the misery of Ireland, has already

destroyed the privileges of the Irish aristocracy. The Established Church of England will in its turn discover that it is hard to be held responsible for the famine of a land; and the English people will ask itself if the satisfaction of having in each parish of Ireland an accomplished 'gentleman' who cannot always recite his sermon because the rules require the presence of three persons, has not been dearly bought, when it is paid by the discontent, the rebellion, and the distress of an entire nation. It will ask itself if it is a profitable calculation to have by its side nakedness and misery, when a single act of justice would create prosperity and trade. Let us hope; for England is a free country and a Christian community. Its religious sentiment has gone astray in what regards Ireland. If it is not true, as people say, that steam and railways have destroyed moral distances, smothered national hatreds, and rendered wars impossible, we live nevertheless in an age in which men sometimes ask themselves 'That which is, ought it to be?'

NOTES.

NOTE A, page 1.

'Ireland is free, as free as England.'

THE TONGUE and the press are as free in Ireland as in England, and ample use is made of the privilege. But if freedom means a paramount voice in their own affairs; if it means that the well-expressed will of the majority is the guide of action to the legislature, as usually happens in England, then it cannot be averred that the Irish are as free as the English. The preponderance of 500 members of Parliament over 100, would signify but little if both nations were identic, not to say in race,[1] but in feelings and sympathies, and if there were no barriers from religious separation aggravated by fanaticism. In Ireland the will of the majority by no means implies concession to its views unless when, too rarely unhappily, the majority comprises both sections of religion and race.

The possession of land implies local government and consequently power, and as the land is by an immense predominance in the hands of Protestants descended for the most part, out of Ulster at least, from Cromwellian adventurers, it follows that power is lodged in the hands of men to whom the people attribute, justly or not as may be, a total want of sympathy with themselves or with their interests; and in whom they in return feel but little of that confidence which ought to subsist in the relations between the two classes alluded to. This is not an 'Ireland as free as England.' The remedy would be to relieve the local gentry from all administrative functions, and, to substitute paid government agents, who would be at all events free from local prejudices. It does not seem very clear why a man, because he has

[1] We know that on more than one occasion laws were framed to interrupt the conformity in manners, customs, and language of the Anglo-Norman to the Celtic race, and to their amalgamation in blood.

five hundred or five thousand a year in land, should be entitled or be necessarily qualified to act as judge and jury over his humbler neighbours.

Note B, page 2.

'*Though five functions are interdicted to Catholics.*'

Unless it be the Presidency of the Church of Scotland, none of these exceptions are founded in justice. There is no reason, except the reasons derived from prejudice, why a Catholic should not be Viceroy in Ireland, or Chancellor in England or Ireland, deprived, if need be, of Church patronage. A fanatical Catholic who would abuse the trust imposed on him by high office is, we believe, at least as rare as a fanatical Protestant. The exclusion is moreover merely theoretic and absolutely useless, though offensive; for an immense change in opinion must take place in England before a Catholic could aspire to these offices, even if they were open to him. The tardy and reluctant appointment of a highly deserving Catholic to the office of judge in England affords proof of the truth of this assertion.[1]

Note C, page 2.

'*The Irishman thus pays much less (tax) per head than the Englishman.*'

This is true no doubt, and necessarily so, seeing that he is so much poorer. It may be questionable, however, if it be justice to impose on Ireland an income tax similar in rating to that of England. One of the arguments, if we recollect right, of the

[1] Since the above was written the law has been repealed which prohibited Catholics from filling the office of Chancellor in Ireland, while that portion of the statute has been retained which restrained them from aspiring to the dignity of Lord-Lieutenant. The chief reason assigned was, not want of trust in the integrity or loyalty of the Catholics, but that it was apprehended the innovation might give umbrage to certain Protestants. All that can be said is, that the reason is more offensive than the fact. It is highly encouraging to Irish loyalty to be told that their rights as citizens must yield to the caprice and fanaticism of a section.

great statesman who introduced this impost was, that he proposed to exact the tax not from Irishmen who could not pay, but from Irishmen who could pay, from those who were in the same relative position as the English tax-payers. This sounds well. The taxed Irishman may not individually suffer more than the similarly taxed Englishman; but does not the impoverished Irish nation at large suffer more by the withdrawal of capital for imperial purposes than the sister island does under the same conditions; is it not besides in England chiefly that this capital is expended? Does not the income tax of England return in a large degree to the English in expenditure for the court, the army, the navy, arsenals, docks, public offices, while probably but a small share finds its way to Ireland?

Note D, page 2.

. . . '*the poor-tax is, of all taxes, whether on landed or on personal property, the most considerable.*'

A million sterling yearly is a large sum to expend in Ireland in poor-rates. That the poor are entitled to relief is a maxim which, though repudiated by the greatest of Irishmen, is now happily recognised without a dissentient voice. The questionable part of the transaction is the distribution of the tax. In the instance quoted, it was levied in the poorest part of the United Kingdom from a body which never was rich, and of whom a large portion had been reduced by the famine to absolute poverty. It was from the impoverished landlords and the equally impoverished tenantry that the above large sum was levied, although, as stated in the text, the poor-rate in numerous instances exceeded the income derived from the land, and that many of the landlords were reduced to food not superior to that supplied to paupers in the poor-house. There must be something wrong here, and we seem to be paying a heavy tribute to the 'wisdom of our ancestors.' When religious establishments were overthrown, when no funded property existed, and when commerce was small, these same ancestors naturally imposed on the land the support of the poor. Following their footsteps, we allow the large incomes derived from the public funds, and the enormous wealth accumulated by trade, to remain comparatively untouched as far as the poor are concerned.

The result of these exemptions is that the benefit to poverty from the institution of the poor-law is reduced, in Ireland at least, to comparatively narrow limits. Extreme distress often fails to drive the almost starved Irish peasant to the refuge afforded by the poor-house. The attractions within are small if the dietary in the generality of the Unions is conducted on a scale at all approaching to what the translator witnessed in 1861 in the county Kildare. The diet for an adult male consisted of seven ounces of oatmeal, with some buttermilk for breakfast, and twelve ounces of bread with buttermilk for dinner. There was no other food during the twenty-four hours. If the peasant could send his wife and children to partake of the poor-house fare, while he himself struggled abroad as best he could, it would be some mitigation to his unhappy lot; for he could at all events take care of his poor cabin, his humble implements of husbandry. But this boon is denied him. He must enter the poor-house with his family, or not at all. What then is to become of his poor tenement, his little all? He must perforce remain outside, and, like his ancestors before him, put his trust in Providence, for man is often not much disposed to favour him, unless across the Atlantic, where he found a refuge in his dire distress. This circumstance may perhaps in some degree justify the sympathy of certain classes among them for America.

Outdoor relief, to a considerable extent, would be the true mode of affording him succour, but the trouble would be great and the machinery expensive, nevertheless it is extensively and successfully practised in France. The opponents of the system would deprecate its introduction on the plea of the many abuses which would follow. That there would be abuses, many claimants on false pretences, is probably true; still it is better to suffer fraud than to suffer abject poverty to stalk through the land, drawing within its folds discontent and disloyalty, though as yet not often crime.

But if outdoor relief be repudiated, let at all events poor-houses be a reality, not a fiction, a genuine home-refuge for infirmity and poverty, not a prison in disguise, with worse than felons' fare. There need be no fear that comfort will create fictitious misery, and fill the poor-houses with false claimants. The confinement and the discipline are quite enough to repress applicants, unless in urgent want. They do so now even among the

maimed and the blind, for whom and for children there is generally a sufficient provision made. The difficulty, in point of expense, could be overcome. There does not seem to be any reason why there should be any exemption from the duty of supporting the poor: let property of every description, whether derived from land, or public funds, or commerce, trade, or salaries, be made responsible for the maintenance of the poor; in other words, let there be an income-tax on a graduated scale for that special object: let not an extravagant and exaggerated staff swallow up the funds on the pretence of preparation for another famine, as is said to be the case at present: let not assessment be dependant on the justice and humanity of ratepayers; and, not least, let a minimum scale of diet be fixed by law. We may then prevent or delay that 'ugly rush' with which a renowned Member of Parliament so often threatened his hearers.

But a greater necessity than even outdoor relief is separation and classification in poor-houses. Since the introduction of poor-laws, the well-known morality of Irish women is said to be on the wane among the humbler classes. The cause is ascribed to want of separation in poor-houses. Respectable young women, forced by poverty into these abodes, are brought into contact and intimacy with others of a different stamp, by whom the corruption of the former is often effected. Worse even than this happens; women at the head of establishments where immorality is a profession, feign poverty and procure admission to the poor-house. Here they make a selection of the best looking young women on whom to practise the arts of corruption, too often it is said, with success. The translator has learned this curious artifice of vice only at second-hand from a Sister of Charity in Dublin, who considered separation to be the only remedy.

Note E, page 3.

. . . '*and which (tithe) is paid by the proprietor instead of by the farmer.*

This can scarcely be counted among the benefits of England to Ireland, for to this measure may be attributed the preservation of the Established Church in the latter country. It may be doubted if even the statesman who effected this transfer, foresaw

the permanency he was thereby conferring on the Church of which he is so staunch an advocate, and that to its maintenance he was largely instrumental in thus sacrificing the true union between England and Ireland. If discontent has existence in Ireland, it is in no small degree due to the policy which gave stability to a costly fiction, a fiction at all events over three-fourths of Ireland, and one destined it seems to retain that 'commonwealth of common woe' in the condition best loved by England's enemies. Tithe and the denial of rights and position to the most powerful and influential corporation in the United Kingdom are a perpetual blister and source of alienation.

NOTE F, page 4.

'*To give a solution of the question relative to the rights of a tenant who has increased the value of the land.*'

So much has been said, true and untrue, on this subject, in pamphlets and pastorals, in Parliament and out of Parliament, that the translator has no pretension to offer any fresh ideas for reflection. Yet he cannot forbear expressing an opinion that the difficulties of settlement are exaggerated. Fixity of tenure he assumes to be rejected on all hands, as too violent an encroachment on landlord right. It would be satisfactory to be apprised that improvement by a tenant without or contrary to a landlord's consent would be placed in the same category. But this is not the case. Lord Naas's Bill empowers a tenant to improve (which improvement, however, is as may be) in certain cases contrary to the landlord's wishes, placing thereby a mortgage on the tenant's holding to the amount he has borrowed from Government, which mortgage may ultimately fall on the landlord. We say ultimately, for if the so-called improvement proves a failure and a loss, and the amount borrowed be heavy, which it often will be, the tenant naturally throws up the land or his lease, leaving the holding encumbered with a mortgage, for which the landlord then becomes responsible to Government; for he is not likely to relet the land, clogged with a mortgage. In short, compulsory 'improvement' means profit to the tenant, if successful, and loss to the landlord, if a failure.

Irish landlords are often placed in unfavourable comparison with their English brethren in the treatment of tenants, particularly with respect to farm-houses and tenements. The English landlord is, perhaps, more indulgent and considerate on these points, still something is to be said on the other side. In England it is the tenant, not the landlord, who pays the whole of the tithe and the whole of the poor rates. In Ireland the landlord alone is responsible for the entire of the tithe, and is besides accountable for half the poor rates. Tithes and a moiety of poor rates may be fairly considered an equitable set-off to farm premises, particularly in a country where farms are so subdivided and numerous that houses and premises for all would absorb the income; but the Englishman alleges that in the rent he makes compensation for the two first charges. If an Irish landlord were to make a similar assertion with reference to farm buildings, it is to be feared his pretension would not secure much belief.

It is a remarkable circumstance that while the interests of the tenant are a subject of so much solicitude, the welfare of another class on which agriculture is equally dependent is altogether overlooked. The farmer claims our attention on the ground of being the immediate agent in the cultivation of the soil, and because he is supposed to be treated with harshness by the landlord; he is therefore to be made to a certain extent independent of the latter. The labourer, however, the man who actually toils at and on the soil, is in the meantime forgotten. How is this? Surely he too is alike deserving of care and compassion. Protection to him from the tenant is equally necessary as for the latter from the landlord; for it is well known, that the labourer meets but little mercy from the tenant-farmer, who rigidly exacts the pound of flesh when the law allows it, particularly when the labourer is so unfortunate as to hold a patch of land as a sub-tenant.

Compulsory improvement can scarcely be considered otherwise than as an immense encroachment on private rights; or if it be justifiable on any special ground, for imperial reasons, such as the general benefit of the empire, the same argument ought to be applicable, and with equal justice, to all other kinds of property. By Irish 'tenant-righters' it is sometimes alleged that land is different from any other description of property, and that, in point of fact, it belongs to the entire community. This communism in disguise, springing chiefly from ecclesiastical sources, and which

converts the United Kingdom into a sort of primitive Indian hunting-ground, hardly claims notice, unless that, being somewhat alluring in its terms, it may have a pernicious effect on some classes in Ireland. If it be a truth, why should the benefit of it be confined to the tenant-farmer class? Why should it not be extended to all the various degrees of society?

Should improvement, contrary to the will of the landlord, form a clause in any new tenant-right Bill, it does not seem likely to promote cordial relations between landlord and tenant, or to increase the welfare of the latter. To deliver himself as much as he can from the thraldom implied, one landlord may evict all such tenants as are within his reach and turn cultivator himself. Another may seek his interest in the consolidation of his farms by evicting small tenants, thus filling the emigrant ship and perhaps the poor-house. Should this portion of the Bill prove a real practical fact, the course indicated will probably be followed in many instances; but if, through the apathy of tenants, or the evasions or coercion of landlords, it should turn out to be a dead encumbrance on the statute book, its omission altogether would be preferable for all parties.

What would probably satisfy the tenant and what he clearly ought to have, is security from capricious ejectment, and compensation in the event of ejectment, for improvements made by arrangements between him and his landlord. The farmer requires the security of a lease, to save him from the coercion of his landlord at elections, when the penalty of refusal to follow the dictation of the latter is eviction. Protection from spiritual coercion is beyond the power of Parliament. If at the termination of the lease the landlord should think fit to have recourse to eviction, compensation for the actual value of improvements sanctioned by him is simply common honesty, but which it unfortunately seems to be necessary to enforce by law. Indeed, this necessity is great, when we are told that one landowner in the North expelled something like 200 families at one fell swoop, because they could not or would not give information relative to a murder; that another pursued a similar course for non-attendance at his proselytising schools, and, again, that an Englishman of large possessions in Ireland, gives systematically, every rent day, to the whole of his numerous tenantry, notice to quit, thus holding them well

in hand when the day of trial, a general election, comes round. Who can withhold his consent to the ballot in the face of so grievous an instance of domination?

If, at the end of the lease, the landlord chooses to make other arrangements for his land, or, in the very unlikely case of his tenant wishing to quit it, the landlord ought assuredly to be made to give compensation for all permanent improvements in which he has concurred. But there is a difficulty behind. At the end of a lease, a landlord generally thinks that if there has been improvement, or if prices have risen, he is entitled to an increase of rent on a renewal of the lease: while the tenant, and his fixity-of-tenure abettors, are loud in denouncing the increase as an oppression, and maintain that as the improvements have been made with the tenant's capital, the landlord is not entitled to derive any benefit. This argument, however plausible it seems, is scarcely tenable, if examined more closely; for, though it be true that the tenant has devoted capital to the improvement of the land, is it not equally true that it is with the capital of the landlord he has been dealing, and that it is through that capital he has acquired profit and conferred increased value? Why then should not both capitals share in that imparted value? Is the landlord's capital to remain stagnant, while that of the tenant is to advance without cessation? And in considering this matter, it ought not to be forgotten that a lease is a one-sided bargain, of which the advantage is all on the part of the tenant: if the times are good, he pays his rent; and if they are bad, he either does not pay it, or does so with a large deduction. Admitting the justice of the foregoing observations, the adjustment of the amount of increase would still be an embarrassment; but even this admits of remedy, when we see that Parliament is prepared to nominate commissioners, who shall determine what improvements may be made against the will of the landlord.

It would thus appear that, on the basis laid down above, of leases and compensation on eviction, tenant-right is not encompassed with so many difficulties as agitation has beset it. Difficulties begin with fixity of tenure and forcible improvement; that is, with a grievous inroad on ownership, and the rights of ownership.

NOTE G, page 7.

'*But they* (*British Government*) *are lavish in support of the vilest system which has ever been imagined by human perversity, and of the greatest deceit that has ever been practised in this country.*'

A stranger would suppose that these bitter terms were directed against a system pregnant with disaster to Ireland; one which had destroyed morality, effaced religion, desolated her with crime. His astonishment would be profound when he learned that this severe denunciation is hurled against an institution which but a few years ago was sanctioned by popes, supported by archbishops and bishops famed for piety, wisdom, and learning, as well as by nearly the whole body of the Irish Catholic clergy, and welcomed as a boon by the Irish people—an institution by which 700 or 800,000 Catholic children are acquiring knowledge and self-respect; are put on the road for eradicating the debasing effects of the fawning temper which centuries of tyranny had made national, but which, under the enlightening effects of education, are, heaven be praised, disappearing. Some righteous over much, though doubtless honest, Catholics denounce the national schools as a deep-laid plot to destroy the Catholic religion in Ireland; and the recent revelations by the family of a deceased Protestant dignitary of celebrity have given countenance to the suspicion. But are Catholics to be guided by sentiments only known through the thoughtless publication of private letters, or are they to be guided by the principles and effects of the institution? Catholics, too, were to be converted, forsooth, by reading the Bible. Did not the learned divine know that every day at Mass two portions, at least, of the Bible, constantly varying, are read? Did he not know that various Popes have issued 'Bulls' inculcating the perusal of scripture, especially of the New Testament? Away then with such fears. Was it not Mr. O'Hagan, the clear-headed and enlightened Attorney-General for Ireland, who declared in Parliament, with entire truth, that Catholics believed education and knowledge to be the staunchest support of their religion? If such a preposterous scheme has entered the heads of Protestants, it must be avowed they take an equally preposterous method of accomplishing their object. Numerous nunneries receive aid to enable them to impart education to poor Catholic

female children—a duty which they fulfil with equal assiduity and success; and it is said that the communities of Christian Brothers might receive similar assistance, did not their vows of gratuitous education interfere. Surely these are not indications of a scheme to proselytise, or to pervert by eradicating all religion. A feeling of manly independence is rising and spreading among the Irish population; and if there be any class of Irishmen to whom this most wholesome change is alarming, they do not venture to avow it. The system under whose auspices the change has sprung up is branded with irreligion. But the actual state of things confutes the aspersion. At no time has there been more of what is called Catholic feeling or devotion than has existed of late years. The enlistment for the Pope, the collection of Peter's pence, the diffusion of devotional exercises, the wonderful increase of Catholic churches and monastic establishments, chiefly built by the poor man's penny, are guarantees for the accuracy of this remark. We may go further. The absence of crime is another evidence of the benefits diffused by education. Even agrarian murder, the national sin, has sensibly diminished. As for other crimes, we have the testimony of Lord Palmerston, who proclaimed in the House of Commons, to the openly-expressed indignation of his English audience, that Ireland is incomparably more free than England from the shocking crimes which so often disgrace the annals of an English court of justice. In what respect then has religion or have morals suffered in consequence of the national system of education? Both are avowedly progressive; we will not presume to say in consequence of that system, but we do venture to contend that it has been no obstacle. If this system has failed to accomplish one of the main objects of its institution, the spread of harmony and good-fellowship among contending sects, the cause is to be found not in the national schools, but in the impulses of the human heart. One party is struggling to maintain the supremacy of its race and church, and the other remnants of special power left to it; while the other class is equally bent on breaking every link of its former chain, and of attaining perfect equality in religion and politics. Let this struggle cease, and then fanaticism, unfortunately not limited to either religion, will yield to the influence of instruction. In the meanwhile, Ireland, both Catholic and Protestant, is receiving education.

After all, the difference between the national schools and the schools of the Christian Brothers is, externally at least, not of paramount importance. In the latter are to be seen crucifixes, pictures of saints, and other emblems of the Catholic religion, not admitted into the national schools. That this omission is not one to which Catholics attribute much weight, would appear from the fact that in Catholic non-clerical schools of middle and lower life they seldom have existence, nor are they commonly found in the houses of Catholics, unless in oratories, or perhaps in the households of converts. The religious instruction obtainable in a national school, half an hour daily, ought to be sufficient, and is at least equal to that allotted in private families or in lay schools of that faith. It may be added that at the national school the parish priest has ample opportunity for imparting religious knowledge to the Catholic pupils. It would, however, be an injustice not to acknowledge that the education obtainable at the schools of the Christian Brothers is of a far higher order than is to be got at the national institutions. The educational books too are superior, and more adapted to Catholic opinion and feeling.

It may not be without interest to an uninitiated reader to glance at the following remarks from the translator's note-book, on the occasion of a visit to a convent-school at Dublin, subsidised by Government: 'Here was an immense establishment, apparently admirably conducted. In it were 900 girls and little boys under ten years of age. In each room there was a harmonium, to which all sang, some singing second. In the elder girls' school there were several excellent drawings executed by them. All the elder girls learn something of drawing and music; but those who show an aptitude for those arts receive systematic instruction. Seeing the humble condition of these young women, such accomplishments appeared rather superfluous; some among them, however, become nursery-governesses. Stitching, darning, &c., were not neglected, contrary to the practice of the denominational schools in England, where this useful art is set aside. The walls were covered with large maps, large zoological representations, specimens of architecture from the tent to the temple, and other useful delineations. The convent was under the National Board. The destitute receive gratuitous instruction; others pay a trifling sum.'

At another equally fine establishment, the very intelligent lady,

a nun, who accompanied the party, said she did not altogether like the system, and that she would prefer to adopt the Christian Brothers as a model. The books of instruction, she admitted, contained nothing objectionable, nor anything offensive to Catholics; and, in fine, it appeared that the grievance she felt most was an inability to cause the girls to make the sign of the cross when the clock struck.

At these convents, as well as at the national schools, a certain portion of time is allotted to religious instruction. At the national school at Crumlin, County Antrim, in which Protestants predominate, two hours are devoted each Saturday to the perusal of the Scriptures *in toto*. The Catholic boys did not attend.

The translator was informed that one serious deviation from the original principle on which the national system was established, has been introduced. Formerly there was a prohibition against the attendance of pupils at religious instruction, unless at that of their own church. This regulation effectually secured Catholic pupils from interference. Now, however, it is said that an option on this subject has been accorded to the pupils themselves; and as in many parts of Ulster Protestant pupils predominate, and consequently the teachers are naturally of the same faith, an opening is given for the exertion of religious influence and teaching.

It is a curious and significant fact that at the national schools the study of history, even of Irish history, is excluded. This is perhaps one of the greatest defects of that system; for it is intolerable to pretend to educate a youth, and yet to deliberately deprive him of all knowledge of the history of his own country; yet the difficulty is not easily overcome. It is not just to force this knowledge on Catholic youths from a Protestant point of view, or on Protestants from Catholic sources. Nevertheless, the question is too important to be overlooked, and we all know that 'where there's a will there's a way.'

On one point the Catholic hierarchy is eminently justified in its discontent. Few can blame those dignitaries when they complain of the Board of Education being composed of an equal number of Catholics and Protestants. When the former are as five to one of the latter, there is not in the face of so great a disproportion the disguise or pretence of fair play; and this is perhaps one of the reasons which fill the Catholic hierarchy with distrust. The time will soon come, it can hardly be doubted,

when so great an anomaly will be amended. It is not long since the Catholic members were in a minority on this Board, and it is to the talents, the enlightenment and honesty of purpose of Mr. Cardwell, when Secretary for Ireland, that they owe the concession of equality. But this is not enough. If the population of Ireland were composed of five millions of Protestants and one million of Catholics, there would be no hesitation in assigning a majority of the Board—and justly assigning, we may add—to the religion of the former. Let the same rule of justice be applied when the ratio of population is reversed.

To a large portion of the Catholic population of the United Kingdom it can hardly fail to be a source of regret that the Bishops (Catholic) of Ireland should claim an authoritative interference in secular education, on the assumption that the scriptural injunction of 'go and teach' implied other teaching than that of the gospel—in fact that it implied all teaching. There is no want of examples in Catholic countries of the clergy having no control over secular education. Belgium is a conspicuous illustration. In that notably Catholic country the bishops and clergy not only do not exert any control, but they are not permitted to interfere in the education of the laity; or, to use the words of the 'Quarterly Review' (October 1862), 'the bishops and clergy possess no vote or authority whatever in education, or in the practical management of the schools. Their interference is strictly confined to advice.' It is possible, desirable indeed, for the sake of harmony, that the government may yield to the claim for change, and assimilate more or less the mixed to the denominational system of England; let us hope the Irish hierarchy will modify their aversion to a measure under whose auspices, whatever may be its defects or deficiencies, Ireland's progress has not been retarded in virtue, religion, and intelligence. The immense collection of pupils at the national schools is a substantial proof that the mass of the Irish people does not adopt the sentiments of the clergy; the small number, chiefly formed of political partisans, which has joined in opposition to the national system has been influenced, it may be conjectured, by external sympathies rather than by their own convictions; left without a bias, there is no appearance that a finger would have been raised in this matter.

But after all, is not this a contest about a chimera—a mere name? for if documents published by Catholics and founded on

official records are deserving of trust, mixed education does not in point of fact exist in Ireland; education is in a large degree denominational, as may be seen from the following statistics published by Professor Kavanagh of Howth, in the 'Weekly Register.' According to the census of 1862 there were in the national schools of Ireland 584,478 pupils. Of this number 82 per cent. were Catholics, 11 per cent. Presbyterians, 6¼ per cent. of the Church of England, and less than 1 per cent. Dissenters. Out of the above enumeration, 98½ per cent. of the Presbyterian pupils, and 75 per cent. of those of the Church of England inhabited the province of Ulster. Again, out of the 105,107 Protestant children of all denominations returned on the rolls, 94,453, or 90 per cent., resided in Ulster, and 10,654 or 10 per cent. in the other three provinces. The deductions refer to only 1,359 out of 3,777 national schools in Ireland, leaving, in the words of Professor Kavanagh, 2,418 schools 'free from the suspicion of either mixture of creed or of united education.'

Assuming these calculations to be correct, one is led to ask, what then is it the Irish clergy desire? for in reality, according to the above enumeration, education, if not already strictly denominational, makes a close approximation to that unit of the triad in Irish grievances. The 'Revue' answers the enquiry; the love of power. No doubt religious sentiment is largely mixed up among the Irish clergy in the question; but still they do not disguise their aim is the assumption of all authority—authority in books, in teachers, in administration, over education. Now, deeply venerated as the clergy is in Ireland, and deservedly venerated—for in the great fight for emancipation the clergy stood in the foremost rank—it admits of question if the educated Catholic laity, as a body, would not deprecate so complete a transfer. There is no question that clerical education, as a rule, produces good Christians. But this is not enough, the State when it pays requires something more; it requires that education should produce good citizens. Let those who know more than the translator of the inner working of this portion of the question solve it.

The signs of the times plainly indicate that expediency and policy will force on the consideration of the Government and nation the wisdom or necessity of a modification of the present system. The well-expressed will of the people is, or ought to be the rule of Government: the Protestants of Ulster seem to be

nearly unanimous in favour of denominational education; and if we may judge of the results of elections by whatever means obtained, Catholics are marching in the same direction. Discord and disunion are the bane of Ireland, and with the hope of uprooting these two fiends and of establishing harmony—that stranger-guest in Erin—we should strive to banish our fear of risking a diminution of present advantages. That the legislature should consent to a fundamental overthrow of the present system, and place education under the control of the clergy of each denomination seems so hopeless that it may be counted a visionary project. But there might be a compromise. The system might be made denominational for the three religions predominant in Ireland, with Boards composed of members exclusively belonging to each of these creeds respectively. These Boards, comprising laymen and clergymen in suitable proportion, would be able to deter all attempts at proselytism, for which in fact there would be no opportunity, and to dictate the course of instruction as well as the selection of books. That such an arrangement would disarm hostility it would be vain to expect; but it would probably reconcile many present opponents.

Clerical objections to the 'Queen's Colleges,' the 'Godless Colleges' as they have been nicknamed, are founded on reasons which seem to be more solid than those which provoked opposition to the national schools. At the former institutions religious worship and instruction are not enforced on the students, who on these important points follow the course prompted by their inclinations. When a body of young men, eighteen to twenty years of age, is assembled together, and left to their own option in regard to religion, we can easily conjecture what the result will be. They will leave the college with hardly any religion, and probably with very little morality. It follows naturally that parents should dread sending their sons to these colleges, so often denounced as 'dangerous to faith and morals.' Compulsory attendance at worship and at religious instruction, be the religion which it may, should be the rule; and then perhaps the Catholic bishops would restore the deans of residence to the position they formerly occupied in those establishments, so that the Irish youth may obtain the advantages of the excellent education they are said to impart, and be raised to a level with the youth of England and Scotland.

Note H, page 9.

'*They hug themselves with the thought of fighting the natural enemy on American soil.*'

Ireland has not forgotten the debt of gratitude she owes to America, who gave her sons an asylum in the depth of her misery in the day of famine. They have repaid a share of that debt by shedding their blood without stint in America's quarrel.[1] But assuredly the French reviewer deceives himself when he thinks that the tide of emigration flows to America in the hope of fighting 'the national enemy on American soil.' Such ideas may be, nay evidently are, acquired after reaching America, but they certainly are not carried there. A few fervid thoughtless spirits may perchance indulge in these dreamy speculations; but who can credit that the Irish peasant has leisure for such thoughts? He has feelings of discontent, and he may remember that his forefathers have been shot, hanged, and harried without mercy in days of yore; but these ideas he rather connects with religion than with race;[2] he may have some floating ideas that England deals unfairly by Ireland, but are there not other matters nearer home which are constantly rung in his ears as the real sources of his evils? Are not the Established Church, tenant-right, education, wicked landlords, the unceasing themes on which press and priest enlighten his mind? Is not his own bad climate enough to drive him from it? Are not the hundreds of thousands of pounds pouring in, or which have poured in, from America, the visions of abundant land and plenty of food, sufficient to draw him to that garden of promise, without any bloodthirsty ideas of slaying Saxons? The fact that England and Scotland are crowded with

[1] One hundred thousand men is about the proportion of Irishmen admitted by Americans to have filled the ranks of their enormous forces. Conversing lately on this subject with a Roman Catholic priest who had lived in the United States, the translator expressed his surprise that the number was not greater. The clergyman in question stated his conviction that the number was greatly underrated. It was, he said, a general practice among native Americans to buy substitutes, who in thousands of instances were Irishmen. But these Irishmen were borne on the rolls as Americans, and with the names of those men who had purchased their services.

[2] The plantation of Ulster by James I.; the exterminations of Cromwell.

thousands upon thousands of Irishmen is a sufficient refutation of the imputation of the reviewer.' Nevertheless, although the emigration may not inflict damage on Ireland, it is difficult not to view it without alarm as an imperial evil. Our unfriends are strengthened, our army loses what once was a most fruitful source for recruitment. Emigration is the cure for a redundant population—would that it were more extensive in England proper, with its twenty millions—and seems to be the normal state of mankind; for what are Euskaldunes, Gaels or Gauls, Greeks, Latins, Teutons, Sclaves, Turks, but emigrants? So long as the pittance of nine, or even eight or seven shillings, and often less, is the weekly hire of a labourer, there is clear evidence of either a redundancy of population or of a deficiency of capital, the latter being perhaps the more palpable evil. For either or for both of these economic maladies, emigration, if not a sovereign remedy, is at least a two-fold mitigation; for the emigrant improves his lot, and so too do those he leaves behind. So long as the breakfast of the labouring man is bread and tea, his dinner bread and tea, and his evening meal stirabout and buttermilk; so long as he can change this diet for abundance, comfort, luxury, by a voyage of ten days, welcome emigration. What then is the meaning of the lamentations we hear on this question, and why are these lamentations confined to America, when England and Scotland offer so wide a field for the same outpourings of grief? Do those who lift up their voices in woe, wish to retain the Irish labourer on the meagre fare we have described, instead of helping him to a land of milk and honey? They answer that tenant-right will give all that America gives, except space, which is nearly the whole matter at issue; but they forget that the emigrants are rarely farmers, unless perchance the defaulters in rent, and the few—we trust the few—evicted through caprice; we trust there are not many examples like Donegal or Galway in Ireland. The emigrants are said to be, by an immense majority, either labourers or the junior sons of farmers who have no chance of acquiring land. ' We repeat again our conviction, that it is the empire, not Ireland, that suffers by the departure of these strong arms and stout hearts.

Note I, page 16.

'*The Irish people are reproached with abandoning themselves to sloth, to improvidence, to drunkenness.*'

The French reviewer takes of course this text from English publications; but seldom have imputations been less founded in fact, unless it be perhaps their love for strong potations. But such things are comparative. An Irishman can hardly be said to be more devoted to intoxication than an Englishman or a Scotchman. He is of a more excitable, perhaps of a more turbulent temper than either of the above, and therefore intoxication becomes more conspicuous in him than in the natives of Great Britain. But let any one watch the doors of the public-houses in the three capitals, and he will remark that the Irish are not the greatest frequenters of these haunts, and this observation is in particular applicable to women. As for sloth and improvidence, the Irishman, like every one else, is lazy when he is underpaid, when he gets sixpence for a day's work. He is improvident when he has nothing to save. But when he is fairly paid, he cannot be justly taxed with these tendencies. Can any one accuse of sloth the Irish navvies,[1] hodmen, masons, coalheavers, mowers, reapers, who comprise so large a portion of the Irish population in England? The English taunt us with being their hewers of wood, their drawers of water. The taunt is ungracious; still, long may it so continue. These are honest manly labours of which no man need be ashamed; let us even be their bakers of bricks without straw, rather than measurers of tapes and ribbons like too many stalwart fellows among themselves. Irishmen who go to America cannot be justly taxed with sloth or improvidence. In Nichols' 'Forty Years in America,' we read 'they have dug the canals, built the railways, and done the rough work of the cities of the North and West.' There is no one, as an American minister once

[1] 'We have no means of estimating accurately the number of Irish in Great Britain; but it is probably a low estimate to place them at half a million. They are dispersed throughout the towns wherever hard labour is to be done, and no people do labour harder or more regularly. They are to be found in our docks and on our wharves, in warehouses and factories, in ironworks and collieries, in gasworks and on railways.'—*Times*, December 1867.

told the translator, more readily trusted there, or who more rapidly frees himself from debt. The so-called improvidence of Irishmen is tested by the extraordinary sums they send from America to their relatives in Ireland. If they fail in this virtue at home, it is, as before explained, only because it is impossible to be provident in misery; for not even a Scot, with all his boasted thrift, can exceed the frugality of an Irish peasant's food. It is an inscrutable mystery, that of two portions of the same empire, twelve miles[1] distant from each other, one should be steeped in wealth, the other plunged in poverty. This cannot be owing to bad climate alone. It cannot be owing, we would fain believe, to an innate superiority of 'Anglo-Saxons' over Gaels, which the English are so fond of casting in our faces, forgetful of the industry of Irish Gaels when fairly recompensed, to say nothing of their ingenious, industrious kinsmen the Gaels or Gauls of France, 'nineteen-twentieths' of whom, according to their own historians, are Gaels; forgetful of the immense diffusion of Gaelic blood among what they call the Anglo-Saxon race of America, but which would be more correctly named the Hiberno-Saxon race.[2] A renowned journal attributes Irish poverty to 'the persistent efforts of the Irish population to deter men of capital from settling among them.' But surely this imputation is not founded on facts. English land societies in Ireland are said to be in a flourishing condition. English purchasers of land are said not to repent of their speculations. Irish canals and Irish banks have not a bad reputation. English capital fears not the dangers of Japan, China, and New Zealand, and yet we are told it dares not meet face to face, if not the most orderly, undeniably one of the least criminal populations in Europe. The solution must be found in the absence of profitable opening,[3] for English capital is always ready to encounter danger combined with profit. Yet even this explanation is inadequate.

[1] From the Mull of Cantire to the coast of Antrim the distance is twelve miles.

[2] 'Indeed, Ireland is much more American, and America much more Irish, than English people are apt to conceive. The great majority of the white population in America is of Irish descent. It is the Irish element which has long governed the politics of the Union.'—*Times*, October 30, 1863.

[3] In making this remark, one cannot help remembering that Irish fisheries ought to offer advantages to English capital.

Lord Dufferin's admirable exposure of the iniquities of English parliaments in the last century, in annihilating Irish trade and manufacture, proves that unless in capital, the materials for gain and prosperity are not radically absent from that island. The following quotation from the journal alluded to is perhaps the nearest approximation to the truth: '. . . if we had carefully but liberally watched and guided the natural growth of the genius of the Irish people, and allowed them, as we were forced to do in Scotland, to retain as far as possible their own lands and their own religion, they might have been won to a complete union, if not to an absolute sameness. The sister country might have been grafted on the main tree, and yet have retained its own fruit and its own foliage.' [1]

Note K, page 19.

'*Two farms in his neighbourhood had been rented at their value with rather short leases, and for each farm the good-will had been bought at the rate of thirteen pounds sterling per acre, or ten times the value of the old rent.*'

The remarks here made relate probably to the custom of Ulster, to which part of Ireland the practice described is chiefly restricted; and there too it is usually the outgoing tenant, not the landlord, who profits. Whatever may be the advantages in the abstract of tenant-right, it is not likely to find many admirers out of that province, if judged by its interpretation in Ulster, and by the examples adduced by the French reviewer.

Ulster tenant-right has its defenders and its admirers, its claim to which will be best shown by an imaginary but not unfaithful example. A farmer hires a plot of land, with or without a lease, for which he pays an ordinary rent, but no fine according to the former pernicious custom of Ireland. At the end of a certain time he, for any reason whatever, thinks fit to resign his farm. We shall suppose him not to have made any improvements, nevertheless he considers himself entitled to put up the farm to a sort of auction, and dispose of it at the highest price, which, as the French reviewer says, may amount to many years' purchase of the rent. It would seem that in such circumstances, if there

[1] *Times*, November 2, 1863.

be any sale whatever, it is the landlord who might justly claim the benefit; if he foregoes the old fine it can hardly be an advantage to the public at large that the practice should be revived by tenants.

The Irish clergy, with varying degrees of intensity, are the most prominent advocates of ultra tenant-right. A dignitary of political and polemical fame in a remote district of Ireland, while exhorting his countrymen to devote their energy to the cultivation of flax, accompanied this wise counsel with these portentous words: 'but take care that the land shall be your own.' In this modified Fenianism there is an essential omission: the respected divine does not say by what feats of dexterity or force this happy goal is to be reached. Recent events seem to show that the seed here scattered has not been flung on unwilling soil.

If we adopt the decision of the 'Times,' whose views are so often either an index or a reflex of English public opinion, the impoverished condition of three of the provinces of Ireland is owing not to the want of tenant-right, but to the want of being peopled by Scots and Protestants. That journal, boasting of the superior wealth and industry of Ulster, uses the following expressions: '. . . . for it is impossible to blink the fact that Ulster differs from the rest of Ireland essentially in the religion and the lineage of its people. They are Scots and Protestants, instead of sharing the old Irish faith.' We beg leave to suggest that to be a Scot and a Protestant is no security against a great deal of evil. Scottish history, and in particular Mr. Froude's history, tell to what extent the Scots were tainted with unblushing treason and treachery. If that famous journal, which the late President Lincoln used to liken to the Mississippi, alludes to the true Scots and not to the Lowland race, he might have remembered that they are the descendants of those Irish Scots who, in days of yore, were the pest of the Romans, and who took to Alba their language, their religion, and their literature, such as it was. Besides, there are parts of the other divisions of Ireland, such as Meath, Kildare, Louth, which, excepting in manufactures, need not shun comparison with Ulster. In accounting for the superiority of Ulster over other portions of Ireland, there is, moreover, a material point not to be disregarded. That province having been 'planted,' that is, the ancient race having been exterminated or expelled,

sent to hell or to Connaught, the new intruders were of the same blood and faith as the exterminators. They consequently were not crushed and degraded like the old inhabitants of the other provinces. The penal laws were not levelled against them; their lands were not seized on fictitious pretences; the son was not set against the father, robbing the latter of his patrimony by adopting the new creed; the parson and the schoolmaster were not hanged and quartered; the 'planter' might safely ride his horse, even though the latter were worth 5*l*. But to come to a later date. Mr. Massey, in his History of England, alluding to the rebellion of '98, a rebellion produced by the Society of United Irishmen, founded by Protestants, says that the Government placed arms in the hands of 37,000 Protestant yeomanry, into whose ranks no Catholic was admitted; and he adds, 'The cruelties perpetrated by these men, both before the rebellion and while it was raging, and after it was suppressed, differed only in degree from the worst enormities of the French revolutionists.' Picketings, half-hangings, floggings to insensibility, and pitch-cappings which tore off the scalp, were the ordinary punishments. Catholics of the better class were subjected to still worse treatment. 'Militia and yeomanry, as well as the regular troops, were billeted on them at free quarters; and this billet appears to have been invariably construed as an unlimited licence for robbery, devastation, ... and, in case of resistance, murder.' Well does the French reviewer say that the evils caused by long-rolling years of misrule are not to be cured by a few years of equitable government. 'Modern history has no parallel for the sufferings of the Irish nation from 1641 to 1660.'[1] 'The sufferings of that nation, from the outset of the rebellion to its close, have never been surpassed but by those of the Jews in their destruction by Titus.'[2]

But let us not revive the memory of those days, departed, let us believe, for ever; but also let us not be condemned if we somewhat fail in virtues which are the gift of freedom, or be taunted with an inferiority caused by the strong hand of tyranny and wickedness. Let us rather forget the past, and try to find a remedy for the evils which beset us. The 'Times' (Feb. 12, 1864), says: 'We are sometimes tempted, though not in calmer

[1] Bancroft's *American Revolution*, quoting Clarendon.
[2] Hallam.

moments, to despair of converting Ireland into a source of strength.' The panacea of that potent journal is the spread of manufactures throughout our island; nor can it be doubted that the remedy would go far to raise us from humiliating poverty and dependence. The dignitary just alluded to proposes to cure our woes by cultivating flax, with the trifling condition before alluded to: is it in a native parliament that this champion of Irish rights rests his hopes, in defiance of the experience gathered from Irish parliaments of former days? We, on the other hand, aver that all this is vain, that 'civil dudgeon' will not expire until entire religious, as well as entire political equality shall be fully established—until 'Dame Religion' shall cease to be a watchword for strife. When this is done, when one section of Irishmen is disabled from exercising superiority over the class forming the immense majority, Ireland will cease to be a rankling thorn in the side of England, and will become eventually 'a source of strength.' What we see in America is a fruitful example for the foundation of these hopes. There the Irishman is on a complete equality, civil and religious, with other citizens. He does not pay a double Church; he does not pay the Church which to his eyes is the emblem of conquest and humiliation. And what is the result? The result is, that in presence of the same Church, and in presence of the same race he has quitted, he is loyal to the backbone. We are justified in presuming that the same results, under similar conditions, would follow, if he never left Ireland.

But perhaps this is going too fast. The writer of these lines would not by any means be understood to say that the abolition of the Church would be equivalent to the removal of all discontent. The Church is only one element. Neither can it be truly said that the government system of education gives rise to discontent; for it is only, or at all events chiefly, the Catholic clergy who have come forward prominently in that matter. Neither can it be owing to the want of tenant-right, for, as has been before observed, it is not among the farmer class that discontent and Fenianism have been rife. According to the translator's view, poverty, much poverty among almost all classes except the highest, with the absence of all field or opening for enterprise or talent, is the real source of discontent and disaffection. The restless spirits of America, well practised in war, and well supplied with its sinews,

have seized this state of mind as their opportunity, and, commencing operations in their own country, have roused into flame in the United Kingdom what had been slumbering embers. For the last five or six years the soil had been well prepared through press and pulpit, by increasing denunciations against the misgovernment and injustice of Great Britain, to receive the poisonous seed imported from beyond the Atlantic. The abortive measure of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill rendered no good service in promoting goodwill to the paramount State. It raised contempt and aversion by betraying its bitter spirit, while it happily and wisely lacked energy for enforcement.

Thousands upon thousands of humble Irishmen now pass to and fro between their own country and England, and have ample opportunity of comparing the wealth of the one with the poverty of the other. All the great works of the empire are monopolised by Great Britain, with its Portsmouth, its Plymouth, its Devonport, &c., &c.—in spite of the naval fitness, and naval wants, of Ireland—its Woolwich, its fortifications, its arsenals, manufactories for arms, and so forth. They see England busy at the public expense, and Ireland idle and neglected. It is not surprising that many of these poor fellows should dream that all this would be reversed if Ireland were severed from her lordly neighbour. The upper and middle classes are in nearly the same predicament. Most rarely does an Irishman fill any of the higher offices of state. Much the same happens in subaltern positions. The functionaries of the public offices are too exclusively English, with, however, a tolerable sprinkling of Scotchmen, who being in the same island, and whose countrymen, often holding high positions in the Government, manage to obtain a fair share of the loaves and fishes. The army and navy offer few openings to Irishmen of the middle class; in the one case, nominations are not accessible to them, from the reasons above stated; in the other, they cannot afford the expensive education demanded at Woolwich, and Sandhurst. In short, Irishmen do not participate fairly in the jobbery, the favouritism, the nepotism, of English public life; and one way or the other, there is scarcely a class in Ireland without its special grievance, for even our peers are reduced to an inferior level.[1]

[1] The legal profession forms a gratifying exception to the above remarks.

NOTE L, page 21.

'*There are two classes of Irish proprietors, the absent and the resident.*'

According to the French reviewer's description, absentees consist of English nobles whose ancestors obtained donations of Irish confiscated land, and of Irish proprietors who prefer England to Ireland as a residence. For the first of these categories there appears to be no solution, unless it be Mr. Bright's kindly remedy to purchase such properties by the inducement of a bonus to the owners, and by selling them in fee-simple at a low price in small holdings to the present farmer-occupants. This proposition of a compulsory sale would with difficulty find acceptance in an English House of Commons, to say nothing of the adverse position in which the owners of other small properties who have purchased at market value would be placed. Besides this, the reason is not very apparent why the present occupants, as farmers, should have a preference over all other farmers in a matter where the nation interferes and the nation pays. The other part of the French reviewer's proposition seems open to question. It is doubtful if a numerous class of Irishmen, particularly of Irish landlords, resides habitually in England, though a certain portion does live in France or Italy, a selection for which the reasons are obvious. But exclusive of economical motives, many Irishmen quit their country owing to its discordant state—the division into Catholic and Protestant, with its consequent alienations. To avoid this unhappy disunion, many Irishmen prefer to live abroad; but all these absentees are by no means proprietors of land, and consequently do not inflict the injury dwelt on by the reviewer, by abstracting capital in the shape of cattle and corn for rent. The income of a large portion of the absentees is derived from the public funds, from annuities, pensions, half-pay, &c. The real injury of absenteeism proceeds chiefly then from English proprietors, who hold large tracts of land, and whose avocations, united to their predilections, impose on them continued residence in England; and further, from English land societies, who are the owners of large domains, and therefore the large abstractors of capital. The lands in question have the reputation of being well managed; but that, according to the con-

clusions drawn by the French reviewer, is not the question at issue. Good management will not prevent capital from leaving Ireland: it benefits the actual occupants of the land, but it will not prevent the export of corn and cattle from Ireland, without any return, to pay rents in England. It would scarcely be what is called a Hibernicism to assert that, on the contrary, good management is here of minor benefit, for its result is the abstraction of a larger share of capital for which no equivalent is returned.

But is there no cure for an evil which impoverishes Ireland, and despoils her inhabitants of a large share of the income derived from her soil? The translator some years ago was travelling in a diligence in France, and met there an intelligent man, with whom he entered into conversation on the subject of primogeniture and the equal division of land among all the members of a family. The Frenchman maintained that the new law had been of great benefit to France; that land was better cultivated; and that there was a greater diffusion of comfort and content. 'But,' said the translator, 'what is to happen when France is frittered into patches, which is a probable occurrence should the law be fairly carried out?' 'Ah, mon bon monsieur, ne vous inquiétez pas—nouveau mal, nouveau remède.' The Irish evil is as old as Strongbow, and the remedy, if not new, should be sharp and decisive. If Irish landlords will not do their duty to Ireland by living on Irish land, and by ceasing to impoverish that country by the abstraction of her wealth, they should suffer a penalty. An absentee tax would help to alleviate one of Ireland's greatest evils by compelling residence, or by providing a fund which would be applicable for the relief of destitution, and above all for outdoor assistance. Compulsory residence is no doubt highly obnoxious, and would encounter great opposition; but it is agreed on all hands that Ireland is an exceptional country, and if so, exceptional measures are scarcely avoidable; nor would an absentee tax be wholly a novelty to English landowners in Ireland; for in the reign of Henry III. a tax was imposed by the Irish Parliament on those Anglo-Irish lords who did not reside on their estates in Ireland.

NOTE M, page 25.

'*Still one man is not the less an usurper doomed to hell in his neighbours' eyes, than are the latter rebels and idolaters to the mind of the former.*'

The reviewer is surely in error in his conjecture that Irish Catholics, as a body, consider their Protestant countrymen doomed to eternal misery. The individuals who adopt so terrific a maxim must be few, if any. It may be as well to say, that on this subject Catholics are much maligned or misunderstood. This is not the place for polemic discussion, but surely it cannot be imagined that the members of the Church of Rome, least of all those of the United Kingdom, believe that the millions upon millions of non-Catholics who have existed have been consigned to reprobation. Catholics do not forget that St. Paul says he found mercy on account of his ignorance. As to the taunts of the prevalence of rebellious tendencies among Irish Catholics, those Protestants who make them ought to remember that they themselves live in a glass house. It is remarkable to hear the vaunts of Irish Protestants of their own unbounded loyalty, and their denunciations of Catholics as rebels. If the past be prophetic of the future, the charge should be reversed. In spite of the hyper-laudation of the Vicar of Kildare [1] on the loyalty of Protestants, and his tirades on the treasons of Catholics, it ought not to be forgotten by which party—by a Protestant or by a Catholic Irish Parliament—was the independence of Ireland, practically a revolution against England, proclaimed and maintained in 1782; by which party were the 'United Irishmen' founded; whether Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Theobald Wolfe Tone, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Oliver Bond, the Rev. William Jackson were Protestants or Catholics; whether the famous delegates of Dungannon, in the vaunted province of Ulster, in 1782, were Catholics or Protestants. Though in the rebellion of 1798 the victims were chiefly Catholics, the prime movers of that attempt were Protestants. The words of Sir Cornewall Lewis on this subject deserve quotation. 'The United Irishmen, consisting of Presbyterians and Protestants, and having their head-quarters at Belfast and Dublin, wished to convert

[1] *Times*,

Ireland into a republic, wholly independent of England, and connected with that of France. For this purpose, they entered into treasonable communication with the French Directory, and organised an insurrection in Ireland, which was to be supported by a French invading force.'[1] In the insurrection in 1803, Emmett, the leader of the enterprise, was a Protestant, as was also the chief of the abortive and absurd attempt at revolution in 1848. But once more we repeat, away with these recollections. Let us banish the memory of the past; let both parties and both religions join in again becoming 'United Irishmen,' pledged to oblivion, and united in asserting for Ireland that weight in the empire which union will give her.

NOTE N, page 61.

'. . . . *the popularity of criminals.*'

The French reviewer seems to think that crime of every kind is popular in Ireland; but the extraordinary absence of felonious deeds, unless of one kind, is a sufficient refutation of the accusation. Agrarian murder may have too many sympathisers, but the terrible social crimes of England meet with no countenance, and rarely with perpetrators. Until late years, the Irishman was unable to regard the law excepting as an enemy, and he has scarcely yet prepared himself to consider it a friend. We lately saw a letter from an Irish peasant, who happened to be engaged in a contest about land, in which were these words: 'My cause is a just one, but law and justice are not the same in Ireland.' In all probability this sentiment is shared by a large portion of the writer's countrymen; nor is it strange it should be so, when tradition tells him that all the sufferings of yore were caused by laws made by men who regarded him as an enemy. Time, justice, and impartial dealing, with the transfer of all administration of the law to the paid agents of Government, will gradually efface the suspicion that law is a one-sided weapon, to be wielded against the humbler class.

[1] Essays on the Administrations of Great Britain, contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, p. 177.

NOTE O, page 28.

'*Nothing would be accepted by them (the Catholic clergy), except the division of the (Church) land and the tithes between the Anglican Church and the Catholic Church.*'

The French reviewer has aptly divined the course which would in all probability be pursued by the Catholic clergy, should the Government at any time propose to appropriate a grant for the maintenance of that body by salary. The offer would, it may be surmised, be met by a refusal, voluntarily, perhaps, in most instances, or compulsorily by episcopal intervention; and it is equally likely that the refusal would be supported by the great body of the laity, unless the principle of entire equality with other religions were simultaneously recognised. It is true, on the other hand, that the Catholic clergy readily accept of salaries when acting as military chaplains, or in gaols or workhouses; but this is a different matter from the tithe question. As recipients of salaries in the above capacities, they are on an equality with the Protestant chaplains; but the position would be different if tithes were to continue to be monopolised by the latter, while the Catholics were paid by a stipend from the nation. Equality would then be a phantom. At this moment the Catholic clergy disclaim all desire of participating in the income derived from tithes, which, it appears, they consider ought to be appropriated to the service of the poor and to the diffusion of education. Although there is a similar repudiation of all salaries, in all likelihood this disclaimer arises from the irritation produced by contention, and by the neglect they have so long suffered from; for nothing can be more humiliating to personal dignity than their present dependence on the exaction of 'dues.' Moreover, the question is one of which the solution rests in reality with the laity. The clergy are no doubt free in regard to acceptance; but non-acceptance is practicable only with the support and concurrence of the laity.

Should the Catholic clergy be destined at any time to receive stipends, or a portion of the tithes, the entire absence of all official interference would be an indispensable part of the arrangement.

One of the least intricate modes of disposing of this controversy would perhaps be the purchase by the nation of all tithes

and of all Church lands, and their conversion into a general fund for the payment of the clergy of the three dominant religions, Catholic, Church of England, Presbyterian. Still further to simplify the subject, landlords might be permitted to purchase the tithes to which they are at present liable, and which it may be presumed they would be willing to a certain extent to do, and thereby aid the Government in carrying out the plan here indicated. When Church property was confiscated in Spain in 1836, the provision made for the clergy in that model priest-ridden land, as Protestants deem it, was 1,300*l.* to 1,500*l.* a year for archbishops; 800*l.* to 1100*l.* a year for bishops; 30*l.* to 100*l.* for parish priests in towns; in the country the minimum for a parish priest was 22*l.* This scale is unquestionably too low for dignitaries to whom matrimony is available, but it affords an example of the view taken in Catholic countries of the provision made by the State for the clergy; France and Belgium being, we believe, on a somewhat similar footing.

NOTE P, page 28.

'*The measure which should establish equality between the clergy (of both religions) would be in itself a treaty of political and social union—of union between England and Ireland, of union between the poor and the rich.*'

It has been often urged that the Established Church is only a sentimental grievance, and that it does not inflict a real injury on Ireland. This is so far true that the clergy of that Church, as a body, are well-educated gentlemen, who expend their income in Ireland, and, as a rule, are of thoroughly upright and respectable character. But a sentiment may be for all that a grievous injury, particularly to men with the lively imagination and impulsive minds of the Gaulish race, when it reminds them so triumphantly of national defeat and subjugation. If the above proposition contained any truth, it would then follow as a necessary corollary that the transfer to the Catholics alone of all the tithes of the Protestant Church would be only a sentimental grievance. This is a maxim which no Roman Catholic would venture to hold.

But pursuing the arguments of the French reviewer, it might be a fair inquiry from its opponents, what security would there

be that a change in the feelings now supposed to exist among the Roman Catholic population of Ireland would follow from the abolition or equalisation of the Church Establishment, and by the recognition of a complete equality in religion? Such a result would, it is presumed, be in the nature of things; for, though the Church question is only one among many claims, yet it is an important one, or one to which the Irish at least attach importance. Elsewhere we see these effects produced by the application of the same causes. Various countries afford us examples where equality has effaced in some, diminished in others, rivalry and animosity; and we are justified in sanguine hopes that the same results would be produced in Ireland, though there the difficulty would be to forget the past. If Irishmen were so bigoted to their own race, and Catholics so bigoted to their own creed, as Englishmen often assert, how does it happen that the great majority of Irish members of Parliament are Protestants and of English descent; nay, that some of them are Englishmen, and even English Protestants? No man is asked at the hustings, unless perchance in Ulster, whether he is a Roman Catholic or a Protestant; and the Catholic clergy do not hesitate to cabal and combine against a Catholic in favour of a Protestant. When a Protestant is opposed, there is no abuse of his religion, no invective or ribaldry launched against the dignitaries of his Church. In short, Irish Catholics seldom trouble themselves about Protestantism in any shape, unless when it molests them in their feelings, their pockets, or their children.

If a stranger were to endeavour to divine what could be the real motive of the English nation in forcing the Established Church on a people which recoils from it, he would be sorely puzzled to find an answer to his inquiry. Does it make proselytes and convert Catholics? No; unless by corrupting misery—a fact patent to the world, confirmed, moreover, by a Protestant dignitary in Munster.

Does it promote harmony between Catholics and Protestants? No; as any one may see by reading their respective newspapers. Does it tend to the material prosperity of the United Kingdom, or of Ireland? Certainly not, in any one particular. Can it be from religious motives that this burthen is placed on Ireland? Scarcely, whether we judge from the fact that it excites in both parties sentiments the reverse of religious, or whether we derive

our opinions from pamphlets and newspapers describing the religious state of England.

What, then, can be the cause? The mystery is unfathomable; unless that, having been long accustomed to tread on a weak neighbour, the vicious habit, like all other vices, is not to be overcome without a struggle. Of one thing, however, we may be assured, that as long as to be an Irishman and a Catholic is to be different from an Englishman; as long as he is still condemned to drag a link of the old chain; as long as he feels the degradation of being the victim of a monopoly disguised under the name of religion; it is vain to expect sympathy for England from the mass of the people.

Can it, or shall it, be otherwise, when an entire nation is mulcted for the benefit of a sixth of that nation, or, more truly to speak, for a fraction of that fraction? Can it be otherwise, when an institution associated in their minds with days of rapine and exile is denounced by some of England's worthiest sons as the 'foulest practical abuse'—as a 'bad institution'—the 'most utterly absurd and indefensible institution now existing in the civilised world'—one 'opposed alike to justice, to policy, and to religious principle'—one of the 'most mischievous institutions in existence,' 'unjustifiable in its establishment and indefensible in its continuance'?[1]

The defenders of the Established Church employ an argument in favour of its perpetuity, which, were it only for its plausibility, claims attention, and, if possible, refutation. It is maintained that tithes being derived from land, and the great proportion of the land being in the possession of Protestants, it is they alone who bear the burden of the Established Church. This argument is founded on the false presumption that tithes and tithe land belong to the landlord, and that it is from his pocket the payment of the clergy of the Irish Protestant Church is taken. But here lies the error, as the translator deems it. The tithes are the property of the nation, consequently of the Irish nation. The mode by which the present proprietors or their ancestors got their lands, was either by purchase or by confiscation, burdened, of course, then as now, with the payment of tithe—that pleasant

[1] Lord Brougham, Lord Macaulay, Lord Grey, Lord Campbell, Sir George Grey, Lord John Russell; *vide* Speech of Serjeant Shee in the House of Commons in 1854.

gift bequeathed by the Norman conqueror to Ireland. If the Church were now abolished, no one would dream of allowing landlords to retain the tithes; consequently, what they pay at present is not their own, but the nation's. The argument, therefore, of the defenders of the present system is a fallacy.

Note Q, p. 30.

'*I should be unable to resist a desire for repeal, however injurious that measure might be in every other respect.*'

Two remarkable papers on the subject of Ireland have lately appeared before the public; one being the production of the Dean and Catholic clergy of Limerick, and the other an article in the 'Quarterly Review.' Each paper is full of talent and knowledge, and each is marred by views, in the one impracticable, in the other tainted with the old leaven of ultra-Toryism.

The dean and his clergy, who, perhaps, are ignorant of the sympathy of the Italian statesman, recount in pathetic detail, from an early date, all the miseries and poverty of Ireland, deducing them, not from any innate defects of the Irish character, but from the misgovernment, the tyranny, the greed of power and gold of the intruding race. The English Government is reminded, but with an entire absence of menace, of the critical state of public affairs, especially in connection with the relations of England with America—in parenthesis, the translator would suggest a perusal of an editorial article in the 'Army and Navy Gazette' of the 1st of February, on the feelings and aspirations of the American navy towards Great Britain. The chief aim of the manifesto from Limerick is to prove how great is the debt of England to Ireland, and the political expediency of speedy reparation. But all the facts and good advice of the Dean and his clergy are vitiated by the solemn adjuration contained in the concluding part of their homily. They denounce the Union, and proclaim a national Parliament. The greatest of Irishmen split on this rock; so, well may the Dean. An Irish Parliament has never had anything to recommend it; for under it, whether actively or passively, did Ireland suffer all its woes. Besides which, in the present state of English feeling and English power, it is wholly impracticable.

What might be practicable is an Imperial Parliament every four years in Dublin; but this is almost as much a 'splendid phantom' as the vision of the Dean of Limerick.

The able writer in the 'Quarterly Review' will receive from the public the applause due to talent, even though not supported by sound political conceptions. He is ready to sacrifice the many to the few; and in Ireland his maxims would excite dismay, could it be credited they would receive acceptance. No other feelings could be aroused among the people of that country when they read that England must not allow her desire to 'quiet discontent to induce her to alienate or betray the garrison,' on whom, the writer says, depends the maintenance of the connection of Ireland with Great Britain; and, again, that all demands for change 'must be viewed with reference to the feelings and wishes (!!) of those who hold Ireland fast to the British connection.' The reviewer clearly forgets there has been a Reform Act in England, and that there is to be one in Ireland. If he had studied Irish history, he would know on how frail a foundation his trust in the 'garrison' is built. Should the maxims he inculcates be adopted, then farewell to improvement, to content, and tranquillity.

Political privileges to any special class are abandoned on all hands—no sect can claim a superiority on this score. It is for the special *religion* of a minority that the writer in the review claims privileges. He should have lived in a former age.

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